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MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

ON THE

LIFE AND CHARACTER

OF

GEORGE F. HOAR

DELIVERED IN THE

SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

JAN. 28–FEB. 12, 1905

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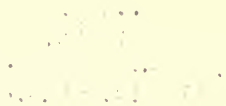
GEORGE F. HOAR

(Late a Senator from Massachusetts)

Memorial Addresses Delivered in the Senate and House of Representatives

Third Session of the
Fifty-eighth Congress



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DEATH OF SENATOR GEORGE F. HOAR

PROCEEDINGS IN THE SENATE

DECEMBER 5, 1904.

PRAYER.

The Chaplain, Rev. Edward Everett Hale, offered the following prayer:

Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, and with all thy strength. This is the first and greatest commandment, and the second is like unto it, namely, this: Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.

Let us pray. Father, we thank Thee for so much. We thank Thee for life and health and strength, and that we are here together now, and, best of all, that Thou art with us to give us new life, to give us new health, to give us new strength, to guide us and help us wherever we go and wherever we are.

Make this Thine own home, that we may find Thee always when we need Thy help, as always we do need it; that wherever we go we may go as the children of the living God, ready to do Thy work, that we may live to Thy glory.

Father, Thou hast given Thy servants here so much to do. They have to spend these months in caring for the coming of Thy kingdom, and for nothing less—that the nations of the world may be one; that the States may bear each others' burdens, each as the others' brethren; that for all sorts and

conditions of men Thou shalt make Thy gospel known, each for all and all for each, for all races and all sects and creeds and communions, that all may join in the common service, as children working with their Father. Thou art with us; hear us and answer us.

And we remember, Father, those whose faces we shall not see here ever again—Thy servants whom Thou hast lifted to higher service. They pray while we pray; they hope as we hope. Bind us together, those whom we see and those whom we do not see, in the great brotherhood of the children of the living God. We ask it and offer it in Christ Jesus.

Join me in the Lord's prayer.

Our Father who art in heaven, hallowed be Thy name. Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done on earth as it is done in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread, and forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil, for Thine is the kingdom and the power and the glory, forever. Amen.

DEATHS OF SENATOR QUAY AND SENATOR HOAR.

Mr. PENROSE. Mr. President, it is my sad duty to announce to the Senate the death of my late colleague, MATTHEW STANLEY QUAY, which occurred at his home in Beaver, Pa., on the 28th day of May last.

I shall not at this moment take up the time of the Senate with any extended remarks touching his personal character and his public services, but will content myself with simply submitting the following resolutions, asking consideration for them after similar resolutions, which I understand the Senator from Massachusetts desires to submit, have been considered.

At some more appropriate time I will ask the Senate to suspend its ordinary business in order that fitting tribute may be paid to the memory of my deceased colleague.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Pennsylvania offers resolutions which will be read.

The Secretary read the resolutions, as follows:

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow and deep regret of the death of Hon. MATTHEW STANLEY QUAY, late a Senator from the State of Pennsylvania.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate a copy of these resolutions to the House of Representatives.

The resolutions were considered by unanimous consent, and unanimously agreed to.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, it is my painful duty to make formal announcement to the Senate that the senior Senator from Massachusetts, Hon. GEORGE FRISBIE HOAR, died at his home in Worcester on the 30th of September last.

At some future time I shall ask the Senate to set apart a day fittingly to commemorate his high character, his distinguished career, and his eminent services.

At this time I offer the following resolutions, and ask for their adoption.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The resolutions will be read.

The Secretary read the resolutions, as follows:

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow of the death of the Hon. GEORGE F. HOAR, late a Senator from the State of Massachusetts.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate a copy of these resolutions to the House of Representatives.

The resolutions were considered by unanimous consent, and unanimously agreed to.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, in behalf of the Senator from Pennsylvania and myself I now offer the following resolution, and ask for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The resolution will be read.

The resolution was read, as follows:

Resolved, That, as a further mark of respect to the memory of the two Senators whose deaths have just been announced, the Senate do now adjourn.

The resolution was considered by unanimous consent, and unanimously agreed to.

The Senate accordingly (at 12 o'clock and 12 minutes p. m.) adjourned until to-morrow, Tuesday, December 6, 1904, at 12 o'clock meridian.

JANUARY 9, 1905.

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES ON THE LATE SENATOR HOAR.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, I desire to give notice that on January 28, immediately after the routine morning business, I shall ask the Senate to consider resolutions in commemoration of the life, character, and public services of my late colleague, Hon. GEORGE FRISBIE HOAR.

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

SATURDAY, *January 28, 1905.*

Rev. Edward E. Hale, the Chaplain of the Senate, offered the following prayer:

Let us now praise famous men. The Lord hath wrought great glory by them, through His great power from the beginning.

Men renowed for their power, giving counsel by their understanding, leaders of the people by their counsel and by their knowledge of learning meet for the people—wise and eloquent in their instructions.

All these were honored in their generations and were the glory of their times. The people will tell of their wisdom and the congregation will show forth their praise.

Father, we ask Thee to keep green and fresh the memories of such fathers in the past, of those whom we have seen with our eyes and have heard with our ears, that in all coming time such mens' lives may live among the children and the children's children.

Teach us to-day, teach all this people, that Thou art pleased to do Thy work by the agency of Thy children who enter into Thy service and go about a Father's business. Show us how they can be strong with Thy strength, wise in Thy wisdom, and interpret Thy law.

Keep green and fresh for us the memory of him whom we do not see here, but whom we loved to see; whom we do not hear, but whom we remember, that this Senate, that the people of this country, may be loyal as he to friends, to Senate, to country, and to the world. It is not in vain for us that Thou hast sent forth such children to interpret Thy purpose and to carry out Thy law.

First and last and always show us that Thy law may be our law, that Thy kingdom may come, and that we are to enter

into Thy service, that it may come the sooner. We ask it in Christ Jesus.

Our Father who art in heaven, hallowed be Thy name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done on earth, as it is done in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive those who trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil; for Thine is the kingdom and the power and the glory, forever. Amen.

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES ON THE LATE SENATOR HOAR.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, before sending the resolutions to the desk I wish to state, as I have been asked to do, that the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. Spooner], who was very anxious to be here to-day and to speak to the resolutions, and whose long friendship with Mr. HOAR is well known to the Senate, is unfortunately prevented suddenly by illness from coming; he is unable to leave his house. I now send the resolutions to the desk.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Massachusetts submits resolutions, which will be read.

The Secretary read the resolutions, as follows:

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow of the death of Hon. GEORGE F. HOAR, late a Senator from the State of Massachusetts.

Resolved, That as a mark of respect to the memory of the deceased the business of the Senate be now suspended, to enable his associates to pay proper tribute to his high character and distinguished public services.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Will the Senate agree to the resolutions?

The resolutions were unanimously agreed to.

Address of Mr. Lodge, of Massachusetts

Mr. President: Duty and desire alike command that I should speak of Mr. Hoar, to whose memory we consecrate this day, as a distinguished statesman, an historic figure, and a representative man of a remarkable and an eventful time. But for me to speak in this place in such fashion is most difficult.

Curæ leves loquuntur; ingentes stupent.

I trust that the Senate, remembering this, will accord to my shortcomings the indulgence which I am only too well aware I shall greatly need.

Men distinguished above their fellows, who have won a place in history, may be of interest and importance to posterity as individuals or as representatives of their time, or in both capacities. Hobbes and Descartes, for instance, are chiefly if not wholly interesting for what they themselves were and for their contributions to human thought which might conceivably have been made at any epoch. On the other hand, Pepys and St. Simon, substantially contemporary with the two philosophers, are primarily of interest and importance as representative men, embodiments and exponents of the life and thought of their time. Benjamin Franklin, to take a later example, was not only deeply interesting as an individual, but he seemed to embody in himself the tendencies of thought and the entire meaning and attitude of the eighteenth century in its broadest significance. Mr. Hoar belongs to the class which is illustrated in such a high degree by Franklin, for he has won and will hold his place in history not only by what he was and what he did, but

because he was a very representative man in a period fruitful in great events and conspicuous for the consolidation of the United States—the greatest single fact of the last century, measured by its political and economic effect upon the fortunes of mankind and upon the history of the world.

To appreciate properly and understand intelligently any man who has made substantial achievement in art or letters, in philosophy or science, in war or politics, and who has also lived to the full the life of his time, we must turn first to those conditions over which he himself had no control. In his inheritances, in the time and place of birth, in the influences and the atmosphere of childhood and youth we can often find the key to the mystery which every human existence presents and obtain a larger explanation of the meaning of the character and career before us than the man's own life and deeds will disclose.

This is especially true of Mr. HOAR, for his race and descent, his time and place of birth are full of significance if we would rightly understand one who was at once a remarkable and a highly representative man. He came of a purely English stock. His family in England were people of consideration and substance, possessing both education and established position before America was discovered. Belonging in the seventeenth century to that class of prosperous merchants and tradesmen, of country gentlemen and farmers which gave to England Cromwell and Hampden, Eliot and Pym, they were Puritans in religion and in politics supporters of the Parliament and opponents of the King. Charles Hoar, sheriff of Gloucester and enrolled in the record of the city government as "Generosus" or "gentleman," died in 1638. Two years later his widow, Joanna Hoar, with five of her children, emigrated to New England. One of the sons,

Leonard Hoar, chosen by his father to go to Oxford and become a minister, entered Harvard College, then just founded, and graduated there in 1650. He soon after returned to England, where he was presented to a living under the Protectorate. He married Bridget, the daughter of John Lisle, commonly called Lord Lisle, one of the regicides assassinated later at Lausanne, where he had taken refuge, by royal emissaries after the King had come to his own again. John Lisle's wife, the Lady Alicia, died on the scaffold in 1685, the most famous and pathetic victim in the tragedy of Jeffreys's "Bloody Assize." Her son-in-law, Leonard Hoar, ejected from his living under the Act of Uniformity, studied medicine, and returning to New England ten years later became in 1672 president of Harvard College, and died in 1675.

Senator HOAR was descended from an elder brother of the president of Harvard, John Hoar, evidently a man of as strong character and marked abilities as the rest of his family. The old records contain more than one account of his clashings with the intolerant and vigorous theocracy which governed Massachusetts, and of the fines and imprisonments which he endured; but he never seems either to have lost the respect of the community or to have checked his speech. We get a bright glimpse of him in 1690, when Sewall says, in his diary on November 8 of that year:

> Jno. Hoar comes into the lobby and sais he comes from the Lord, by the Lord, to speak for the Lord; complains that sins as bad as Sodom's found here.

In every generation following we find men of the same marked character who were graduates of Harvard, active citizens, successful in their callings, taking a full share of public duties and in the life of their times. Senator HOAR'S great

grandfather, who had served in the old French war, and his grandfather were both in the fight at Concord Bridge. His father, Samuel Hoar, was one of the most distinguished lawyers in Massachusetts. He served in both branches of the State legislature, and was a Member of Congress. Honored throughout the State, his most conspicuous action was his journey to Charleston to defend certain negro sailors, and from that city, where his life was in danger, he was expelled because he desired to give his legal services to protect men of another and an enslaved race.

On his mother's side Senator HOAR was a descendant of the John Sherman who landed in Massachusetts in 1630 and became the progenitor of a family which has been extraordinarily prolific in men of high ability and distinction. In the century just closed this family gave to the country and to history one of our most brilliant soldiers, one of our most eminent statesmen and financiers, and through the female line the great lawyer and orator, Mr. Evarts, and E. Rockwood Hoar, distinguished alike as judge, as Member of Congress, and as Attorney-General of the United States. In the eighteenth century we owe to the same blood and name one of the most conspicuous of the great men who made the Revolution and founded the United States, Roger Sherman, signer of the Declaration of Independence, signer of the articles of Confederation, signer of the Constitution, first Senator from Connecticut, and grandfather of Mr. HOAR, as he was also of Mr. Evarts. I have touched upon this genealogy more, perhaps, than is usual upon such occasions, not only because it is remarkable, but because it seems to me full of light and meaning in connection with those who, in the years just past, had the right to claim it for their own. We see these people, when American history begins, identified with the cause of

constitutional freedom and engaged in resistance to what they deemed tyranny in church and state. They became exiles for their faith, and the blood of the victims of Stuart revenge is sprinkled on their garments. They venture their lives again at the outbreak of our own Revolution. They take a continuous part in public affairs. They feel it to be their business to help the desolate and oppressed, from John Hoar sheltering and succoring the Christian Indians, in the dark and bloody days of King Philip's war, to Samuel Hoar, going forth into the midst of a bitterly hostile community to defend the helpless negroes. The tradition of sound learning, the profound belief in the highest education, illustrated by Leonard Hoar in the seventeenth century, are never lost or weakened in the succeeding generations. Through all their history runs unchanged the deep sense of public responsibility, of patriotism, and of devotion to high ideals of conduct. The stage upon which they played their several parts might be large or small, but the light which guided them was always the same. They were Puritans of the Puritans. As the centuries passed, the Puritan was modified in many ways, but the elemental qualities of the powerful men who had crushed crown and miter in a common ruin, altered the course of English history, and founded a new state in a new world, remained unchanged.

So parented and so descended, Mr. HOAR inherited certain deep-rooted conceptions of duty, of character, and of the conduct of life, which were as much a part of his being as the color of his eyes or the shape of his hand. Where and when was he born to this noble heritage? We must ask and answer this question, for there is a world of suggestion in the place and time of a man's birth when that man has come to have a meaning and an importance to his own generation as well as to those which succeed it in the slow procession of the years.

Concord, proclaimed by Webster as one of the glories of Massachusetts which no untoward fate could wrest from her, was the place of his birth. About the quiet village were gathered all the austere traditions of the colonial time. It had witnessed the hardships of the early settlers, it had shared and shuddered in the horrors of Indian wars, it had seen the slow and patient conquest of the wilderness. There within its boundaries had blazed high a great event, catching the eyes of a careless world which little dreamed how far the fire then lighted would spread. Along its main road, overarched by elms, the soldiers of England marched that pleasant April morning. There is the bridge where the farmers returned the British fire and advanced. There is the tomb of the two British soldiers who fell in the skirmish, and whose grave marks the spot where the power of England on the North American Continent first began to ebb. Truly there is no need of shafts of stone or statues of bronze, for the whole place is a monument to the deeds which there were done. The very atmosphere is redolent of great memories; the gentle ripple of the placid river, the low voice of the wind among the trees, all murmur the story of patriotism and teach devotion to the nation, which, from "the bridge that arched the flood," set forth upon its onward march.

And then just as Mr. HOAR began to know his birthplace the town entered upon a new phase which was to give it a place in literature and in the development of modern thought as eminent as that which it had already gained in the history of the country. Emerson made Concord his home in 1835, Hawthorne came there to live seven years later, and Thoreau, a native of the town, was growing to manhood in those same years. To Mr. HOAR'S inheritance of public service, of devotion to duty, and of lofty ideals of conduct, to the family

influences which surrounded him and which all pointed to work and achievement as the purpose and rewards of life, were added those of the place where he lived, the famous little town which drew from the past lessons of pride and love of country, and offered in the present examples of lives given to literature and philosophy, to the study of nature, and to the hopes and destiny of man here and hereafter.

Thus highly gifted in his ancestry, in his family, and in his traditions, as well as in the place and the community in which he was to pass the formative years of boyhood and youth, Mr. HOAR was equally fortunate in the time of his birth, which often means so much in the making of a character and career. He was born on the 29th of August, 1826. Superficially it was one of the most uninteresting periods in the history of western civilization—dominated in Europe by small men, mean in its hopes, low in its ambitions. But beneath the surface vast forces were germinating and gathering, which in their development were to affect profoundly both Europe and America.

The great movement which, beginning with the revolt of the American colonies, had wrought the French Revolution, convulsed Europe, and made Napoleon possible, had spent itself and sunk into exhaustion at Waterloo. The reaction reigned supreme. It was the age of the Metternichs and Castlereaghs, of the Eldons and Liverpools, of Spanish and Neapolitan Bourbons. With a stupidity equaled only by their confidence and insensibility, these men and others like them sought to establish again the old tyrannies and believed that they could restore a dead system and revive a vanished society. They utterly failed to grasp the fact that where the red-hot plowshares of the French Revolution had passed the old crops could never flourish again. The White Terror swept over France, and a

little later the Due Décazes, the only man who understood the situation, was driven from power because he tried to establish the conditions upon which alone the Bourbon monarchy could hope to survive. The Holy Alliance was formed to uphold autocracy and crush out the aspirations of any people who sought to obtain the simplest rights and the most moderate freedom. To us Webster's denunciation of the Holy Alliance sounds like an academic exercise, designed simply to display the orator's power, but to the men of that day it had a most real and immediate meaning. The quiet which Russia and Austria called peace reigned over much wider regions than Warsaw. England cringed and burned incense before the bewigged and padded effigy known as "George the Fourth." France did the bidding of the dullest and most unforgetting of the Bourbons. Anyone who ventured to criticise any existing arrangement was held up to scorn and hatred as an enemy of society, driven into exile like Byron and Shelley, or cast into prison like Leigh Hunt.

But the great forces which had caused both the American and French revolutions were not dead. They were only gathering strength for a renewed movement, and the first voices of authority which broke the deadly quiet came from England and the United States. When the Holy Alliance stretched out its hand to thrust back the Spanish colonies into bondage Canning declared that he would call in the "New World to redress the balance of the Old," and Monroe announced that in that New World there should be no further European colonization and no extension of the monarchical principle. Greece rose against the Turks, and lovers of liberty everywhere went to her aid, for even the Holy Alliance did not dare to make the Sultan a partner in a combination which professed to be the defender of Christianity as well as of despotic government.

When Mr. Hoar was born the Greek revolution was afoot, the first stirrings of the oppressed and divided nationalities had begun, the liberal movement was again lifting its head and preparing to confront the entrenched, uncompromising forces of the reaction. When he was four years old Concord heard of the fighting in the Paris streets during the three days of July, and of the fall of the Bourbon monarchy. When he was six years old the passage of the reform bill brought to England a peaceful revolution instead of one in arms, and crumbled into dust the system of Castlereagh and Liverpool and Wellington.

The change and movement thus manifested were not confined to politics. As Mr. Hoar went back and forth to school in the Concord Academy the new forces were spreading into every field of thought and action. Revolt against conventions in art and literature and against existing arrangements of society was as ardent as that against political oppression, while creeds and dogmas were called in question as unsparingly as the right of the few to govern the many. In England one vested abuse after another was swept away by the Reform Parliament. It was discovered that Shelley and Byron, the outlaws of twenty years before, were among the greatest of England's poets. Dickens startled the world and won thousands of readers by bringing into his novels whole classes of human beings unknown to polite fiction since the days of Fielding, and by plunging into the streets of London to find among the poor, the downtrodden, and the criminal characters which he made immortal. Carlyle was crying out against venerated shams in his fierce satire on the Philosophy of Clothes. Macaulay was vindicating the men of the great rebellion to a generation which had been brought up to believe that the Puritans were little better than cutthroats, and

Oliver Cromwell a common military usurper. The English establishment was shaken by the Oxford movement, which carried Newman to Rome, drove others to the extreme of skepticism, and breathed life into the torpid church, sending its ministers out into the world of men as missionaries and social reformers.

In France, after the days of July, the romantic movement took full possession of literature, and the Shakespeare whom Voltaire rejected became to the new school the head of the corner. The sacred Alexandrine of the days of Louis XIV gave way to varied measures which found their inspiration in the poets of the Renaissance. The plays of Hugo and Dumas drove the classical drama from the stage; the verse of De Musset, the marvelous novels of Balzac were making a new era in the literature of France.

Italy, alive with conspiracies, was stirring from one end to the other with aspirations for national unity and with resistance to the tyranny of Neapolitan Bourbons and Austrian Hapsburgs. Hungary was moving restlessly; Poland was struggling vainly with her fetters. Plans, too, for social regeneration were filling the minds of men. St. Simon's works had come into fashion. It was the age of Fourier and Proudhon, of Bentham and Comte.

Such were the voices and such the influences which then came across the Atlantic, very powerful and very impressive to the young men of that day, especially to those who were beginning to reflect highly and seriously upon the meaning of life. And all about them in America the same portents were visible. Everything was questioned. Men dreamed dreams and saw visions. There is a broad, an impassable gulf between the deep and beautiful thought, the mysticism and the transcendentalism of Emerson and the wild vagaries of Miller and the Second

Adventists, or the crude vulgarity of Joseph Smith, yet were they all manifestations of the religious cravings which had succeeded the frigid skepticism of the eighteenth century and the dull torpor of the period of reaction. So, too, Brook Farm and the Oneida Community were widely different attempts to put into practice some of the schemes of social regeneration then swarming in the imagination of men. Literature was uplifting itself to successes never yet reached in the New World. It was the period of Poe and Hawthorne, of Longfellow and Lowell, of Holmes and Whittier. Bancroft and Prescott were already at work; Motley was beginning his career with romantic novels. And then behind all this literature, all these social experiments, all these efforts to pierce the mystery of man's existence, was slowly rising the agitation against slavery, a dread reality destined to take possession of the country's history.

These influences, these voices were everywhere when Mr. Hoar, a vigorous, clever, thoughtful boy of sixteen, left his school at Concord and entered Harvard College in 1842. Brook Farm had been started in the previous year; the next was to witness Miller's millennium; he was halfway through college when Joseph Smith was killed at Nauvoo. In his third year the long battle which John Quincy Adams had waged for nearly a decade in behalf of the right of petition and against the slave power, and which had stirred to its depths the conscience of New England, culminated in the old man's famous victory by the repeal of the "gag rule."

As Mr. Hoar drew to manhood the air was full of revolt and questioning in thought, in literature, in religion, in society, and in politics. The dominant note was faith in humanity and in the perfectibility of man. Break up impeding, stifling customs, strike down vested abuses, set men free to think, to write, to

work, to vote as they chose and all would be well. To Mr. HOAR, with his strong inheritances, with the powerful influences of his family and home, the spirit of the time came with an irresistible appeal. It was impossible to him to be deaf to its voice or to shut his ears to the poignant cry against oppression which sounded through the world of Europe and America with a fervor and pathos felt only in the great moments of human history. But he was the child of the Puritans. Their elemental qualities were in his blood, and the Puritans joined to the highest idealism the practical attributes which had made them in the days of their glory the greatest soldiers and statesmen in Europe. Macaulay, in a well-known passage, says of Cromwell's soldiers that—

> They moved to victory with the precision of machines, while burning with the wildest fanaticism of Crusaders.

Mr. HOAR, by nature, by inheritance, by every influence of time and place, an idealist, had also the strong good sense, the practical shrewdness, and the reverence for law and precedent which were likewise part of his birthright. He passed through college with distinction, went to his brother's office for a year, to the Harvard Law School, and thence, in 1849, to Worcester, where he cast in his fortune with the young and growing city which ever after was to be his home. But his personal fortunes did not absorb him. He looked out on the world about him with an eager gaze. As he said in his old age,

> Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive.

The profound conviction that every man had a public duty was strong within him. The spirit of the time was on him. He would fain do his share. When the liberal movement culminated in Europe in 1848 he was deeply stirred. When, a little later, Kossuth came to the United States the impression

then made upon him by the cause and the eloquence of the great Hungarian sank into his heart and was never effaced. He, too, meant to do his part, however humble, in the work of his time. He did not content himself with barren sympathy for the oppressed beyond the seas, nor did he give himself to any of the vague schemes then prevalent for the regeneration of society. He turned to the question nearest at hand, to the work of redressing what he believed the wrong and the sin of his native land—human slavery. He did not join the abolitionists, but set himself to fight slavery in the effective manner which finally brought its downfall—by organized political effort within the precincts of the Constitution and the laws.

Mr. HOAR had been bred a Whig. His first vote in 1847 was for a Whig governor, and Daniel Webster was the close friend of his father and brother. He had been brought up on Webster's reply to Hayne, and as a college student he had heard him deliver the second Bunker Hill oration. In that day the young Whigs of Massachusetts looked to Webster with an adoring admiration. They—

> Followed him, honored him,
> Lived in his mild and magnificent eye,
> Learned his great language, caught his clear accents,
> Made him their pattern to live and to die.

But the great command of conscience to Mr. HOAR was to resist slavery, and the test of his faith was at hand. He was to break from the dominant party of the State. Webster was to become to him in very truth "The Lost Leader." He was to join with those who called the great Senator "Ichabod," and not until he himself was old was he to revert to his young admiration of that splendid intellect and that unrivaled eloquence. But when the ordeal came there was no shrinking. Charles Allen, of Worcester, amid derisive shouts, announced at Philadelphia, after the nomination of General Taylor, that the Whig

party was dissolved, and Mr. HOAR went with him. After the delegates had returned to Massachusetts Mr. HOAR rendered his first political service by addressing and mailing a circular drawn by his elder brother, E. Rockwood Hoar, which invited the antislavery Whigs to meet at Worcester and take steps to oppose the election of either General Taylor or of General Cass, the Democratic candidate. The convention was held in Worcester on June 28, became the Free Soil party, and gave their support to Van Buren. The result of the movement nationally was to defeat the Democrats in New York, as the Liberty party had turned the scales against Clay four years before. In Massachusetts the Worcester convention marked the appearance of a group of young men who were to form a new school of statesmen, and who were destined to control Massachusetts and to play a leading part in guiding the fortunes of the nation for forty years to come.

The Federalists, who had formed and organized the Government of the United States, and who were essentially constructive statesmen of great power, had followed the men of the Revolution, and in turn had been succeeded by the Whigs. Under the lead of Webster and Choate, of Everett and Winthrop, and others hardly less distinguished, the Whigs controlled Massachusetts for a generation. They never had seemed stronger, despite Webster's personal discontent, than on the eve of Taylor's election. But it was to be their last triumph. The men, mostly young, who gathered at Worcester were to displace them and themselves take and hold power for nearly forty years. There at Worcester, with Samuel Hoar, one of the pioneers of earlier days, presiding, were assembled the men of the future. Charles Sumner, Charles Francis Adams, Henry Wilson, E. R. Hoar, Charles Allen, and Richard H. Dana spoke to the convention, while Palfrey the historian, John A. Andrew, then a young,

unknown lawyer, and Anson Burlingame, although not present, joined with and supported them. These were not only new men, but they represented a new political school. The Whigs, inheriting the Federalist doctrines of liberal construction, were essentially an economic party, devoted to the industrial and material development of the country. The men who supplanted them were primarily and above all human-rights statesmen, as befitted the time. To them the rights of humanity came first and all economic questions second. With these men and with this school Mr. HOAR united himself heart and soul, swayed by the sternest and strongest convictions, for which no sacrifice was too great, no labors too hard. He was perhaps the youngest of the men destined to high distinction who met in Worcester in 1848; he was certainly the last great survivor of this remarkable group in the largest fields of national statesmanship.

Thus was the beginning made. The next step was an unexpected one. There was a Free-Soil meeting in Worcester in 1850. Charles Allen, who was to speak, was late, and a cry went up from the impatient audience of "Hoar!" "Hoar!" Neither father nor brother was present, so Mr. HOAR took the platform, and speaking from the fullness of his heart and with the fervor of his cause, won a success which put him in demand for meetings throughout the county. The following year he was made chairman of the Free-Soil county committee, proved himself a most efficient organizer, and carried all but six of the fifty-two towns in the county. Then, greatly to his surprise, he was nominated for the legislature. He accepted, was elected, became the leader of the Free Soilers in the house, and distinguished himself there by his advocacy of the factory acts limiting the hours of labor, in which Massachusetts was the pioneer. He retired at the

end of the year for which he had been chosen. In 1857 he was nominated, again unexpectedly, to the State senate, was elected, served one year with marked distinction, and then retired, as he had from the house. He had, indeed, no desire for office. On coming to Worcester he had been offered a partnership by Emory Washburn, soon after governor of the State, and later a professor in the Harvard Law School. This connection brought him at once into one of the largest practices in the county, and his partner's election to the governorship, which soon followed, gave him entire responsibility for the business of the firm. He was not only very busy, but he was devoted to his profession, for he possessed legal abilities of the highest order. Yet he was never too busy to give his services freely to the great cause of human rights, which he had so much at heart. He labored unceasingly in his resistance to slavery and in building up the Republican party, which during that time was fast rising into power, both in State and nation.

It is impossible to follow him through those eventful years when freedom and slavery clinched in a death struggle far out in Kansas and the black clouds of civil war were gathering darkly on the horizon. But there are two incidents of that period which illustrate Mr. HOAR'S character so strongly that they can not be passed over. In 1854 the Know Nothing movement broke out with all the force of a tropical hurricane. To men painfully struggling to bring a great cause to judgment against the resistance of the old and dominant parties it offered many temptations. The new party was overwhelming in its strength; it evidently could not last indefinitely; it was sound on the slavery question, and it promised to act as a powerful solvent and disintegrate the old organizations which every Free Soiler rightly thought was vital to their own success. But Mr.

HOAR, unmoved by the storm, believing in freedom of conscience as he believed in political freedom, set himself in stern opposition to a party which rested on the principle of discrimination and ostracism against all men of a certain race or of a given creed. No public clamor then or ever was able to sway him from those ideals of faith and conduct which were the guiding stars of his life.

The other incident was widely different and even more characteristic. If there was one thing more hateful to Mr. HOAR than another in those days it was the return of runaway slaves to the South by the authorities of Northern States. Massachusetts was the scene of some of the worst examples of this bad business, and the wrath of the people was deeply stirred. In 1854 a deputy marshal connected with the work of slave catching arrived in Worcester. His presence became known, and an angry mob, utterly uncontrollable by the little police force of the town, gathered about the hotel. The man was in imminent danger and stricken with terror. No one loathed a slave catcher more than Mr. HOAR, but the idealist gave way to the lover of law and ordered liberty. Mr. HOAR went out and addressed the crowd, then gave his arm to the terrified man, walked with him down the street, surrounded by a few friends, and so got him to the station and out of the town, bruised by blows but alive and in safety.

So the years of that memorable time went by. Mr. HOAR worked diligently in his profession, rising to the front rank of the bar and laboring in season and out of season in support of the Republican party and of the Administration of Lincoln when the civil war came. He had neither thought nor desire for public life or public office. He wished to succeed in his profession, to live quietly at home among his books, and he cherished the modest ambition of one day becoming a judge

of the supreme court of the State. But it was ordered otherwise. In 1868 Mr. HOAR went to Europe, worn out by hard work at his profession. There were at the moment many candidates for the nomination for Congress in the Worcester district, and most of them were strong and able men. In this condition of affairs Mr. HOAR consented to let some of his friends bring his name forward, and then took his departure for Europe. Travel and rest brought back his health and he returned home eager for his profession, regretting that he had allowed his name to be suggested as that of a candidate for any position, only to find himself nominated for Congress on the first ballot taken in the convention. So his life in Washington began, with no desire or expectation on his part of a service of more than one or two terms. At the end of his second term he announced his intention of withdrawing and was persuaded to reconsider it. The fourth time he was obliged again to withdraw a refusal to run because it was a year of peril to the party. The next time the refusal was final and his successor was nominated and elected.

His eight years in the House were crowded with work. He began with a very moderate estimate of his own capacities, but his power of eloquent speech and his knowledge and ability as a lawyer soon brought him forward. When S. S. Cox sneered at him one day, saying "Massachusetts had not sent her Hector to the field," and Mr. HOAR replied that there was no need to send Hector to meet Thersites, the House recognized a quick and biting wit, of which it was well to beware.

When Mr. HOAR entered the House Congress was engaged in completing the work which by the war and the emancipation of the slaves had marked the triumph of that mighty struggle for human freedom to which he had given his youth and early manhood. He was therefore absorbed in the questions raised

by the reconstruction policy, which involved the future of the race he had hoped to free, and he labored especially in the interests of that race for the establishment of national education, which, after years of effort constantly renewed, ultimately failed of accomplishment. But the civil war, besides its great triumphs of a Union preserved and a race set free, had left also the inevitable legacy of such convulsions, great social and political demoralization in all parts of the country and in all phases of public and private life. Political patronage ran riot among the offices and made Mr. HOAR one of the most ardent, as he was one of the earliest and most effective, of civil-service reformers. Unhappily, however, the poison of the time penetrated much higher in the body politic than the small routine offices so sorely misused under the "spoils system." It was an era when Cabinet officers and party leaders were touched and smirched and when one Congressional investigation followed hard upon another. Mr. HOAR'S keenness as a lawyer, his power as a cross-examiner, and his fearless and indignant honesty caused the House to turn to him for this work of punishment and purification, which was as painful as it was necessary. He was a member of the committee to investigate the Freedmen's Bureau, and took part in the report which exonerated General Howard. He was one of the House managers in the Belknap trial and the leading member of the committee which investigated the Union Pacific Railroad and the scandals of the Crédit Mobilier.

But his greatest and most distinguished service came to him just as his career in the House was drawing to a close. The demoralization of the war, the working out of reconstruction, the abnormal conditions which war and reconstruction together had produced, culminated in 1876 in a disputed Presidential election. Into the events of that agitated winter it is needless

and impossible to enter. The situation was in the highest degree perilous, and everyone recognized that a grave crisis had arisen in the history of the Republic. Finally an electoral tribunal was established which settled the controversy and removed the danger. Upon that tribunal Mr. HOAR was placed by a Democratic Speaker as one of the representatives of the House, and this appointment alone was sufficient to fix his place as one of the political leaders of the country. With this great and responsible task accomplished, his career in the House drew to a close. Yet even while he was thus engaged a new and larger service came to him by his election to the Senate. He was then, as when he entered the House, without desire for public office. He still longed to return to his library and his profession and allow the pleasures and honors as well as the trials of public life to pass by. But again it was not to be. There was at that time a strong and deep-rooted opposition to the dominance of General Butler in the politics of Massachusetts, and this opposition, determined to have a Senator in full sympathy with them, took up Mr. HOAR as their candidate and, without effort or even desire on his part, elected him.

So he passed from the House to the Senate. He entered the Senate a leader, and a leader he remained to the end, ever growing in strength and influence, ever filling a larger place, until he was recognized everywhere as one of the first of American statesmen, until his words were listened to by all his countrymen, until there gathered about him the warm light of history, and men saw when he rose in debate—

> The past of the nation in battle there.

Neither time nor the occasion permits me to trace in fitting detail that long and fine career in the Senate. Mr. HOAR was a great Senator. He brought to his service an intense patriotism, a trained intellect, wide learning, a profound knowledge

of law and history, an unsullied character, and noble abilities. All these gifts he expended without measure or stint in his country's service. His industry was extraordinary and unceasing. Whatever he spared in life, he never spared himself in the performance of his public duty. The laws settling the Presidential succession, providing for the count of the electoral vote, for the final repeal of the tenure-of-office act, for a uniform system of bankruptcy, are among the more conspicuous monuments of his industry and energy and of his power as a constructive lawmaker and statesman. Nor did his activity cease with the work of the Senate. He took a large part in public discussion in every political campaign and in the politics of his own State. He was a delegate to four national conventions, a leading figure in all, and in 1880 he presided at Chicago, with extraordinary power, tact, and success, over the stormiest convention, with a single exception, known to our history.

In the Senate he was a great debater, quick in retort, with all the resources of his mind always at his command. Although he had no marked gifts of presence, voice, or delivery, he was none the less a master of brilliant and powerful speech. His style was noble and dignified, with a touch of the stateliness of the eighteenth century, rich in imagery and allusion, full of the apt quotations which an unerring taste, an iron memory, and the widest reading combined to furnish. When he was roused, when his imagination was fired, his feelings engaged, or his indignation awakened, he was capable of a passionate eloquence which touched every chord of emotion and left no one who listened to him unmoved. At these moments, whether he spoke on the floor of the Senate, in the presence of a great popular audience, or in the intimacy of private conversation, the words glowed, the sentences marshaled themselves in stately sequence, and the idealism which was the dominant note of his life was

heard sounding clear and strong above and beyond all pleas of interest or expediency.

So we come back to the light which shone upon his early years and which never failed him to the last. Mr. HOAR was born in the period of revolt. He joined the human-rights statesmen of that remarkable time. He shared in their labors; he saw the once unpopular cause rise up victorious through the stress and storm of battle; he beheld the visions of his youth change into realities and his country emerge triumphant from the awful ordeal of civil war. He came into public life in season to join in completing the work of the men who had given themselves up to the destruction of slavery and the preservation of the Union. But even then the mighty emotions of those terrible years were beginning to subside. The seas which had been running mountain high were going down, the tempestuous winds before which the ship of state had driven for long years were dropping and bid fair to come out from another quarter. The country was passing into a new political period. Questions involving the rights of men and the wrongs of humanity gave place throughout the world of western civilization to those of trade and commerce, of tariffs and currency and finance. The world returned to a period when the issues were economic, industrial, and commercial, and when the vast organizations of capital and labor opened up a new series of problems. In the United States, as the issues of the war faded into the distance and material prosperity was carried to heights undreamed of before, the nation turned inevitably from the completed conquest of its own continent to expansion beyond its borders, and to the assertion of a control and authority which were its due among the great powers of the earth. Many years before Mr. HOAR'S death

the change was complete, and he found himself a leader in the midst of a generation whose interests and whose conceptions differed widely from those to which his own life had been devoted. He took up the new questions with the same zeal and the same power which he had brought to the old. He made himself master of the tariff, aided thereto by his love of the great industrial community which he had seen grow up about him at Worcester, and whose success he attributed to the policy of protection. In the same way he studied, reflected upon, and discussed problems of banking and currency and the conflict of standards. But at bottom all these questions were alien to him. However thoroughly he mastered them, however wisely he dealt with them, they never touched his heart. His inheritance of sound sense, of practical intelligence, of reverence for precedent, rendered it easy for him to appreciate and understand the value and importance of matters involving industrial prosperity and the growth of trade; but the underlying idealism made these questions at the same time seem wholly inferior to the nobler aspirations upon which his youth was nurtured. An idealist he was born, and so he lived and died. Neither skepticism nor experience could chill the hopes or dim the visions of his young manhood. He was imbued with the profound and beautiful faith in humanity characteristic of that earlier time. He lived to find himself in an atmosphere where this faith was invaded by doubt and questioning.

How much that great movement, driven forward by faith in humanity and hope for its future, to which Mr. Hoar gave all that was best of his youth and manhood, accomplished, it is not easy to estimate. It is enough to say that the results were vast in their beneficence. But the wrongs and burdens which it

swept away were known by the sharp experience of actual suffering only to the generations which had endured them. The succeeding generation had never felt the hardships and oppressions which had perished, but were keenly alive to all the evils which survived. Hence the inevitable tendency to doubt the worth of any great movement which has come, done its work, and gone, asserted itself; for there are no social or political panaceas, although mankind never ceases to look for them and expect them. To a period of enthusiasm, aspiration, and faith, resulting in great changes and in great benefits to humanity, a period of skepticism and reaction almost always succeeds. The work goes on, what has been accomplished is made sure, much good is done, but the spirit of the age alters.

The new generation inclined to the view of science and history that there were ineradicable differences between the races of men. They questioned the theory that opportunity was equivalent to capacity; they refused to believe that a people totally ignorant or to whom freedom and self-government were unknown could carry on successfully the complex machinery of constitutional and representative government which it had cost the English-speaking peoples centuries of effort and training to bring forth. To expect this seemed to the new time as unreasonable as to believe that an Ashantee could regulate a watch because it was given to him, or an Arruwhimi dwarf run a locomotive to anything but wreck because the lever was placed in his hands. Through all these shifting phases of thought and feeling Mr. Hoar remained unchanged, a man of '48, his ideals unaltered, his faith in the quick perfectibility of humanity unshaken, his hopes for the world of men still glowing with the warmth and light of eager youth. And when all is said, when science and skepticism and experience have spoken their last

word, the ideals so cherished by him still stand as noble and inspiring as the faith upon which they rested was beautiful and complete. The man who steered his course by stars like these could never lose his reckoning or be at variance with the eternal verities which alone can lift us from the earth. His own experience, moreover, although mingled with disappointments, as is the common fate of man, could but confirm his faith and hope. He had dreamed dreams and seen visions in his youth, but he had beheld those dreams turn to reality and those visions come true in a manner rarely vouchsafed. He had seen the slave freed and the Union saved. He had shared with his countrymen in their marvelous onward march to prosperity and power. He had seen rise up from the revolt of 1848 a free and united Italy, a united Germany, a French Republic, a free Hungary. He would have been a cynic and a skeptic indeed if he had wavered in his early faith. And so his ideals and the triumphs they had won made him full of confidence and courage, even to the end. He, too, could say:

> I find earth not gray, but rosy;
> Heaven not grim, but fair of hue.
> Do I stoop? I pluck a posy.
> Do I stand and stare? All's blue.

This splendid optimism, this lofty faith in his country, this belief in humanity never failed. They were with him in his boyhood; they were still with him, radiant and vital, in the days when he lay dying in Worcester. It was all part of his philosophy of life, knit in the fibers of his being and pervading his most sacred beliefs. To him the man who could not recognize the limitations of life on earth was as complete a failure as the man who, knowing the limitations, sat down content among them. To him the man who knew the limitations but ever strove toward the perfection he could not reach

was the victorious soul, the true servant of God. As Browning wrote in his old age, he, too, might have said that he was—

> One who never turned his back, but marched breast forward,
> Never doubted clouds would break,
> Never dreamed, though right were worsted, wrong would triumph,
> Held we fall to rise, are baffled to fight better,
> Sleep to wake.

He had an unusually fortunate and happy life. He was fortunate in the knowledge of great work done, happy in never knowing idleness or the distress of wondering painfully how to pass away the short time allowed to us here, or the miserable craving for constant excitement so marked at the present moment. His vacations were filled, as were his working hours. He traveled wisely and well, and the Old World spoke to him as she only does to those who know her history. He was a lover of nature. He rejoiced in the beauties of hill and stream and forest, of sea and sky, and delighted to watch the flight of the eagle or listen to the note of the song birds in whose name he wrote the charming petition which brought them the protection of the law in Massachusetts.

He was a scholar in the wide, generous, unspecialized sense of an older and more leisurely age than this. His Greek and Latin went with him through life, and the great poets and dramatists and historians of antiquity were his familiar friends. His knowledge of English literature was extraordinary, as extensive as it was minute and curious. His books were his companions, an unfailing resource, a pleasure never exhausted. To him history had unrolled her ample page, and as antiquarian and collector he had all the joys which come from research and from the gradual acquisition of those treasures which appeal to the literary, the historic, or the artistic sense.

Any man of well-balanced mind who is wedded to high ideals is sure to possess a great loyalty of soul. It is from

such men that martyrs have been made, the true martyrs whose blood has been the seed of churches and across whose fallen bodies great causes have marched to triumph. But it is also from men of this stamp, whose minds are warped, that the fanatics, the unreasoning and mischievous extremists likewise come, those who at best only ring an alarm bell, and who usually are thoroughly harmful, not only to the especial cause they champion, but to all other good causes, which they entirely overlook. There is, therefore, no slight peril in the temperament of the thorough going idealist, unless it is balanced and controlled, as it was with Mr. HOAR, by sound sense and by an appreciation of the relation which the idealist and his ideals bear to the universe at large. It was said of a brilliant contemporary of Mr. HOAR, like him an idealist, that "if he had lived in the Middle Ages, he would have gone to the stake for a principle under a misapprehension as to the facts." Mr. HOAR would have gone to the stake socially, politically, and physically rather than yield certain profound beliefs. But if he had made this last great sacrifice, he would have known just what he was doing and would have been under no misapprehension as to the facts.

Loyalty to his ideals, moreover, was not his only loyalty. He was by nature a partisan; he could not hold faiths or take sides lightly or indifferently. He loved the great party he had helped to found in that strongest of all ways, with an open-eyed and not a blind affection. He more than once differed from his party; he sometimes opposed it on particular measures; he once, at least, parted with it on a great national issue; but he never would leave it; he never faltered in its support. He believed that two great parties were essential bulwarks of responsible representative government. He felt that a man could do far more and far better by remaining in his party, even if he thought it wrong in some one particular, than by

going outside and becoming a mere snarling critic. No man respected and cherished genuine independence more than he, and no man more heartily despised those who gave to hatred, malice, and all uncharitableness the honored name of independence. Nothing could tear him from the great organization he had helped and labored to build up. If anyone had ever tried to drive him out, he would have spoken to Republicans as Webster did to the Whigs in 1842 at Faneuil Hall, when he said:

> I am a Whig; I always have been a Whig, and I always will be one; and if there are any who would turn me out of the pale of that communion, let them see who will get out first.

Mr. HOAR'S high ideals and unswerving loyalty were not confined to public life and public duty. He was not of those who raise lofty standards in the eyes of the world and then lower and forget them in the privacy of domestic life and in the beaten way of friendship. He was brought up in days when "plain living and high thinking" was not the mere phrase which it has since become, but a real belief, and to that belief he always adhered. He cast away a large income and all hope of wealth for the sake of the public service. He had no faculty for saving money and no desire to attempt it. If he made a large fee in an occasional case, if his pen brought him a handsome reward, it all went in books or pictures, in the hospitality he loved to exercise, and in the most private charities, always far beyond his means. He once said that he had been more than thirty years in public life and all he had accumulated was a few books. But there was no bitterness, no repining in the words. He respected riches wisely used for the public good, but he was as free from vulgar admiration as he was from the equally vulgar hatred of wealth. He was, in a word, simply indifferent to the possession of money—a fine attitude, never more worthy of consideration and respect than in these very days.

His love for his native land was an intense and mastering emotion. His country rose before his imagination like some goddess of the infant world, the light of hope shining in her luminous eyes, a sweet smile upon her lips, the sword of justice in her fearless hand, her broad shield stretched out to shelter the desolate and oppressed. Before that gracious vision he bowed his head in homage. His family and friends—Massasetts, Concord, Harvard College, Worcester—he loved and served them all with a passion and affection in which there was no shadow of turning. His pride in the Senate, in its history and its power, and his affection for it were only excelled by his jealous care for its dignity and its prerogatives. He might at times criticise its actions, but he would permit no one else to do so or to reflect in his presence upon what he regarded as the greatest legislative body ever devised by man, wherein the ambassadors of sovereign States met together to guard and to advance the fortunes of the Republic. Beneath a manner sometimes cold, sometimes absent-minded, often indifferent, beat one of the tenderest hearts in the world. He had known many men in his day—all the great public men, all the men of science, of letters, or of art—and his judgments upon them were just and generous, yet at the same time shrewd, keen, and by no means overlenient. But when he had once taken a man within the circle of his affections he idealized him immediately; there was thenceforth no fleck or spot upon him, and he would describe him in glowing phrases which depicted a being whom the world perhaps did not know or could not recognize. It was easy to smile at some of his estimates of those who were dear to him, but we can only bow in reverence before the love and loyalty which inspired the thought—for these are beautiful qualities which can never go out of fashion.

He was a fearless and ready fighter; he struck hard and did not flinch from the return. His tongue could utter bitter

words, which fell like a whip and left a scar behind, but he cherished no resentments, he nursed no grudges. As the shadows lengthened he softened, and grew ever gentler and more tolerant. The caustic wit gave place more and more to the kindly humor which was one of his greatest attributes. In the latter days he would fain have been at peace with all men, and he sought only for that which was good in everyone about him. He died in the fullness of years, with his affections unchilled, his fine intellect undimmed. He met death with the calm courage with which he had faced the trials of life.

> He took his shriveled hand without resistance
> And found him smiling as his step drew near.

So he passed from among us, a man of noble character and high abilities. He did a great work; he lived to the full the life of his time. He was a great Senator—a great public servant laboring to aid his fellow-men and to uplift humanity.

> He has fought a good fight, he has finished his course, he has kept the faith.

May we not say of him, in the words of one of the poets who inspired his imagination, in the noble language he so dearly loved:

> *Κοινὸν τοδ' ἄχος πᾶσι πολίταις*
> *Ἦλθεν ἀέλπτως.*
> *Πολλῶν δακρύων ἔσται πίτνλος*
> *Τῶν γὰρ μεγάλων ἀξιοπευθεῖς*
> *Φῆμαι μᾶλλον κατέχουσιν.*
>
> On all this folk, both low and high,
> A grief has fallen beyond men's fears.
> There cometh a throbbing of many tears,
> A sound as of waters falling.
> For when great men die,
> A mighty name and a bitter cry
> Rise up from a nation calling.

NOTE.—This English version of the last chorus in the Hippolytus of Euripides is taken from the remarkable and very beautiful translation of that tragedy by Professor Murray.

Address of Mr. Allison, of Iowa

Mr. President: I have listened with profound interest and with much gratification to the address just delivered by the senior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Lodge], portraying the story of the life, character, and public services of his late colleague, Senator George Frisbie Hoar. That character was a great one, and it has been so eloquently depicted by the Senator from Massachusetts that it seems almost impossible for anyone else to add to that beautiful tribute. I regret that, with the occupations and duties pressing upon me at this late stage of the session, I have not had time to make the necessary preparation for speaking as I should like to speak of the distinguished public services rendered by the late Senator Hoar in the two Houses of Congress, covering a continuous period of thirty-five years. I can not, however, refrain from expressing in brief terms my appreciation of those services and offering what must necessarily be an imperfect tribute to his memory.

I was fortunate enough to be a Member of the House of Representatives when Mr. Hoar first appeared in that body in 1869. He entered the House fully equipped for the great work of the period immediately following the close of the civil war, having previously enjoyed unusual advantages and opportunities. He came of a long line of ancestry of educated and scholarly men, who had achieved distinction in his native State. He had the advantage of an intellectual training in the oldest and most distinguished university in our country, and in his early youth had not only in his own family, but

among his immediate surroundings, the example and influence of many illustrious scholars and writers. Reared in an atmosphere of "plain living and high thinking," of right speaking and right acting, he had formed lofty ideals of private conduct and public duty.

He entered upon the practice of his chosen profession of the law, and soon after had the good fortune to become associated with one of the most distinguished members of the New England bar, which brought him at once into great activity as a lawyer in the courts.

Thus equipped, he entered upon the work of the House of Representatives. A close student of the history of our country, he was familiar with the public questions that confronted him and was equally familiar with the details of the events which brought about the then existing conditions. Having great ability and large experience as a lawyer, and entering the House at the mature age of 43 years, it was expected that he would soon take high rank in that body. This expectation was fully realized. He early became one of the ablest and most conspicuous Members of the House, and participated actively in the enactment of legislation to solve the difficult problems which were from time to time presented.

His leadership in the House was early recognized by his assignment to most important duties; notably, he was a leading manager in the Belknap impeachment trial in 1876. He was also one of the members, on the part of the House, of the Electoral Commission of 1877, the decisions of which resulted in the peaceful inauguration of President Hayes and averted what then appeared to be a most dangerous situation arising from a defect or omission in the law respecting the method of counting the electoral votes for President and Vice-President. Although in the heat of partisan debate the decisions of the Commission

were for a time criticized, it is now generally admitted that the whole scheme as respects the creation of the Commission and its decisions meet the general approval of the people of our country as the wisest and best mode of adjusting that emergent difficulty, which is not likely to occur in the future.

He took his seat in the Senate on the 4th of March, 1877, and brought with him the added reputation and distinction achieved in his eight years of service in the House. He served here continuously until the date of his death, for a period of more than twenty-seven years.

His service here was constant, active, and vigilant; and without disparagement of any of the eminent men who served with him during this long period, it may be truthfully said that, compared with him, there were few, if any, who brought to this service higher ideals of public duty, greater industry in public work, greater learning as respects the structure of our Government, or a wider knowledge of its constitutional history and the successive steps in its growth and development.

He was a ready and incisive debater, as many of us have reason to remember, with great power of analysis, and with a very accurate knowledge of almost every conceivable subject that was likely to arise in debate. He was quick to detect the weak points in the armor of his adversary, and being himself armed with rapier and scimiter he was always ready to thrust or parry a blow.

He made many speeches in the Senate on many subjects. He readily utilized his wide knowledge of history as applicable to the particular matter under consideration. He often made studied preparation for such efforts; but with wide reading, a well-stored mind, and a most retentive memory, he made many able and effective speeches without such preparation. Many Senators will recollect that some of the ablest

speeches made by Senator HOAR were delivered in executive session when great topics were under consideration.

Senator HOAR was an orator. He had the power of uttering his thoughts in a manner to produce conviction or persuasion. He charmed his hearers with the wealth and beauty of his rhetoric and diction.

From his early life he was a believer in universal freedom and in the mission of our country to make laws universal in their application as respects the people of all races, giving equal opportunities to all. Thus for years he advocated the appropriation of public money from the Treasury of the United States for the education of the negro race in the South in order to qualify that race for the duties of citizenship. His eloquent advocacy of that duty of our Government may yet in time appeal convincingly to legislators who are here and those who may come hereafter.

He believed that our country was intended to be an asylum for all oppressed peoples, and therefore he opposed all laws prohibiting immigration of particular races, and especially opposed the enactment of the laws prohibiting Chinese immigration into our country, but later yielded to the general sentiment on that subject. I think one of the ablest speeches that has been delivered on this floor was a speech made by Senator HOAR in opposition to the enactment of a proposed law for the prohibition of the immigration of Chinese.

We all remember how earnestly he opposed the entire scheme for control over the Philippine Archipelago. He believed that those people should be left to work out their own destiny in such manner as to them seemed wisest and best, differing in that respect from the great majority of his party, and possibly from a great majority of the people of the country. But he was also a partisan. He believed that the great interests of

this country could be more safely intrusted to the Republican party than to any other. Therefore he steadily adhered to that party, though differing from it in respect to some of its declared public policies, of which I have given a notable illustration.

Senator HOAR was an industrious man—always investigating, working, thinking, writing, and speaking upon subjects of great interest. His Recollections disclose this trait in his character to a marked degree, but it was illustrated in other ways. During his vacations he prepared with care and delivered many speeches and orations upon topics of general interest not political in character. Those speeches would make a most interesting and instructive volume, and I hope that at no distant day they will be gathered into a volume for the benefit of students of our history.

Those speeches were often of a historical character, and disclosed that in their preparation he had delved into obscure records and gathered incidents not found in published papers. His oration at the centennial of the settlement of Ohio, delivered at Marietta, is a notable illustration of this painstaking preparation, and is the most complete history of that early settlement which has been written, so far as I have been able to observe.

During the last years of his life, though feeble in health, he made several speeches of this character, to one of which I wish to make particular allusion. Two years ago the president of the Iowa State University made a journey to Washington with a message from the regents of the university inviting Senator HOAR to deliver the oration at their annual commencement in 1903. That invitation was extended to Senator HOAR on account of the general admiration of his lofty character and his great public worth. He expressed a wish to comply with

the request, but doubted whether he had the health and strength to make preparation and also to make the journey. He was finally persuaded to accept. On that occasion he delivered a most charming and finished oration relative to the growth and development of the country west of the Mississippi River. It is now and will be for many years one of the most pleasant memories of the people of our State who heard him that they had that rare opportunity of listening to his eloquence.

At the time of his death he had the respect and the affection of all the people whom he had long served faithfully and well.

Mr. President, I repeat that it is to me a source of sincere regret that, owing to the pressure of public duties, I have been prevented from making the proper preparation to pay fitting tribute to the memory of this illustrious man. I knew him personally during the entire term of his service in both Houses of Congress, and I am most happy to say that during that extended period we were always upon the most pleasant and agreeable terms of friendship.

Address of Mr. Cockrell, of Missouri

Mr. President: I willingly unite with others in this Chamber in paying just tribute to the memory of Hon. George Frisbie Hoar, late a United States Senator from the State of Massachusetts.

He was born at Concord, Mass., August 29, 1826, and died on the 30th day of September, 1904. He graduated at Harvard College in 1846, studied law and graduated at the Dane Law School, Harvard University, and entered upon the practice of his chosen profession at Worcester, Mass., thereafter his residence. He was elected a member of the State house of representatives in 1852, and of the State senate in 1857, and subsequently served as a Representative in the Forty-first, Forty-second, Forty-third, and Forty-fourth Congresses, serving continuously for eight years, and declined a renomination for Representative in the Forty-fifth Congress.

He was elected as a Republican to the United States Senate to succeed Hon. George S. Boutwell, for the term beginning March 4, 1877, and was reelected in 1883, 1889, 1895, and 1901. His term would have expired March 3, 1907. He was an overseer of Harvard College 1874–1880, declined reelection, but was reelected in 1896, and again for six years in 1900. He was president of the association of the alumni of Harvard.

He presided over the Massachusetts State Republican conventions in 1871, 1877, 1882, and 1885, and was a delegate to the Republican national conventions of 1876, at Cincinnati, and of 1880, 1884, and 1888 at Chicago. Presided over the

convention of 1880, and was chairman of the Massachusetts delegation in 1880, 1884, and 1888. In the Forty-fourth Congress he was one of the managers on the part of the House of Representatives in the Belknap impeachment trial in 1876. In 1877 he was one of the five Members of the House of Representatives appointed on the commission authorized by the act of January 29, 1877, entitled "An act to provide for and regulate the counting of votes for President and Vice-President and the decision of questions arising thereon for the term commencing March 4, A. D. 1877."

He was a Regent of the Smithsonian Institution in 1880; president of the American Antiquarian Society, of the American Historical Association, and of the board of trustees of Clark University; trustee of the Peabody Museum of Archæology and of Leicester Academy; a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, of the American Historical Society, of the Historic-Genealogical Society, and of the Virginia Historical Society; fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and corresponding member of the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences, and a trustee of the Peabody Fund.

He received the degree of doctor of laws from William and Mary, Amherst, Yale, Harvard, and Dartmouth colleges. These many positions of trust and honor conferred upon and held by him illustrate the diversity of his pursuits and attainments.

In the Forty-first Congress Mr. HOAR supported Senator Sumner in his opposition to President Grant's Santo Domingo proposal, and was recognized as a formidable antagonist in debate.

In the Forty-second Congress Mr. HOAR, in the contested-election cases in the House, was regarded as an impartial

judge and honored as such by Republicans and Democrats alike.

My personal acquaintance with Mr. HOAR began in the Forty-fourth Congress, when he was one of the managers on the part of the House in the Belknap impeachment trial. I shall never forget his denunciation of corruption and bribery in office, so forcibly and fearlessly expressed in the following language in his pleading before the impeachment court (I quote from his Autobiography of Seventy Years):

> I said a little while ago that the Constitution had no safeguards to throw away. You will judge whether the public events of to-day admonish us to look well to all our securities to prevent or power to punish the great guilt of corruption in office. We must not confound idle clamor with public opinion, or accept the accusations of scandal and malice instead of proof; but we shall make a worse mistake if, because of the multitude of false and groundless charges against men in high office, we fail to redress substantial grievances or to deal with cases of actual guilt. The worst evil resulting from the indiscriminate attack of an unscrupulous press upon men in public station is not that innocence suffers, but that crime escapes. Let scandal and malice be encountered by pure and stainless lives. Let corruption and bribery meet their lawful punishment.
>
> My own public life has been a very brief and insignificant one, extending little beyond the duration of a single term of Senatorial office; but in that brief period I have seen five judges of a high court of the United States driven from office by threats of impeachment for maladministration. I have heard the taunt, from friendliest lips, that when the United States presented herself in the East to take part with the civilized world in generous competition in the arts of life the only product of her institutions in which she surpassed all others beyond question was her corruption. I have seen, in the State in the Union foremost in power and wealth, four judges of her courts impeached for corruption and the political administration of her chief city become a disgrace and a byword throughout the world. I have seen the chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs in the House, now a distinguished member of this court, rise in his place and demand the expulsion of four of his associates for making sale of their official privilege of selecting the youths to be educated at our great military school. When the greatest railroad of the world, binding together the continent and uniting two great seas which wash our shores, was finished, I have seen our national triumph and exultation turned to bitterness and shame by the unanimous reports of three committees of Congress—two of the House and one here—that every step of that mighty

enterprise had been taken in fraud. I have heard in highest places the shameless doctrine avowed by men grown old in public office that the true way by which power should be gained in the Republic is to bribe the people with the offices created for their service, and the true end for which it should be used when gained is the promotion of selfish ambition and the gratification of personal revenge. I have heard that suspicion haunts the footsteps of the trusted companions of the President.

These things have passed into history. The Hallam or the Tacitus or the Sismondi or the Macaulay who writes the annals of our time will record them with his inexorable pen. And now, when a high Cabinet officer, the constitutional adviser of the Executive, flees from office before charges of corruption, shall the historian add that the Senate treated the demand of the people for its judgment of condemnation as a farce, and laid down its high functions before the sophistries and jeers of the criminal lawyer? Shall he speculate about the petty political calculations as to the effect on one party or the other which induced his judges to connive at the escape of the great public criminal? Or, on the other hand, shall he close the chapter by narrating how these things were detected, reformed, and punished by constitutional processes which the wisdom of our fathers devised for us, and the virtue and purity of the people found their vindication in the justice of the Senate?

Mr. HOAR took his seat in this Senate on the 5th day of March, 1877, and was assigned to the Committee on Claims, among other committee assignments. I served on the Committee on Claims with him for years. He did his full share of the onerous duties of that committee, and clearly demonstrated his incorruptible integrity and impartial judgment.

We became warm personal friends, and I admired and loved him for his many noble traits of character, and realized that whatever might be our difference in views and judgment he was honest, sincere, and conscientious.

He rendered valuable services on many important committees of the Senate, such as the Committee on Claims, Privileges and Elections, Judiciary, Library, and others. He was, in the fullest sense of the term, a learned man, possessed of varied and diversified attainments, and always a close student of all existing conditions of our country, nationally and internationally. He was probably the best informed on historical questions of

any member of this body. While broad in his sympathies, he was always alert in the interests and reputation of his native State. It is related of him that while a Member of the House the late Hon. S. S. Cox made some reflections upon the Bay State and expressed surprise that "the Massachusetts Hector did not come to the relief of his beloved Troy," when Mr. HOAR coolly replied: "It is not necessary for Hector to take the field when the attack is led by Thersites."

His writings are pleasing and interesting. His speaking was forcible, earnest, and instructive. While Mr. HOAR may not be considered an orator in the popular use of that word, yet many of his speeches, such as those delivered by him at the centennial of the opening of the great Northwest, at Marietta, Ohio; the presentation of the statue of Daniel Webster to the National Art Gallery; the two hundred and seventy-fifth anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth; the bicentennial of Worcester; the Belknap impeachment trial; and many others, will give him, justly, rank as an orator. He was a true, patriotic American, a firm believer in our dual systems of Government—National and State.

While in some things he was radical and partisan, he was in many things conservative, liberal, and generous, and exhibited many genial and attractive characteristics. His long, eventful, and illustrious career in the many positions of honor and trust held by him in State and nation is crowned with absolute personal and official integrity, and entitles him to the rank of one of the greatest scholars, orators, and statesmen of his native State and of our great country.

Address of Mr. Platt, of Connecticut

Mr. President: The Reverend Doctor Edwards, preaching the funeral sermon of Senator Hoar's maternal grandfather, Roger Sherman, of Connecticut, quoted, as voicing public sorrow, the words of David uttered upon the death of Abner, "Know ye not that there is a prince and a great man fallen this day in Israel?" These words as fittingly describe the universal sentiment with which the news of Senator Hoar's death was received.

The most eloquent and comprehensive review of the life, character, and services of George Frisbie Hoar by the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Lodge] leaves but little to be said. His review is complete, his estimate true, his survey exhaustive. It has occurred to me, therefore, that I, who esteem it a privilege to add something by way of affectionate tribute to the memory of Senator Hoar, may speak briefly of his greatness.

Greatness is a quality conceded to only few men; but I think no one, in this country at least, doubts that when Senator Hoar died a great man passed beyond our ken to enter upon the life and activities of that future of which we know so little, but in which he had undoubting faith. It softens our grief and mitigates our sense of loss to believe that in him the mortal has put on immortality.

No question has been more widely discussed by thinkers, essayists, and philosophers than what it is that constitutes true greatness; none perhaps upon which there is wider divergence of opinion. We recognize human greatness. We may not

define it; but I think that whatever else may be required three elements must exist without which no one can be said to have been a truly great man—namely, intellectual power, intense energy, and, above all, lofty moral purpose. Where can the man be found who possessed in higher degree or in whom were more completely blended these three essentials of greatness than our lost brother?

His mental powers and activities were marvelous; his learning the most profound, covering all fields—literature, history, law, religion, poetry—everything that mankind has thought or felt or wrought. The classics were as familiar to him as the primer of the schoolboy. The great poems in which the noblest souls have found their best expression were his daily food. The history of our own race and all races from prehistoric periods to the immediate present he fully knew. It was once said of an able Senator that he was authority upon our country's history, except that of the last fifty years. Senator HOAR not only knew every fact and detail of our history, but he helped to make most of it during the past half century. Books were his constant companions. The highest thoughts of the wise and great in all times were his perpetual stimulus.

No man was ever better equipped by scholarship and learning for his life work. What he had once learned he could instantly recall and use with telling effect. His intellect was of the highest order—keen, analytical, powerful, grasping every topic, overlooking no detail, going straight to the core of things, disciplined, and untiring. Intellectually he measured up to the best.

When we think of the energy he brought to his work, his life seems to have been modeled on the scriptural injunction, "Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might."

Whatever task he undertook absorbed all the energies and powers of his being, and to its accomplishment he gave of his mind, his body, and his soul, until it was finished. No field of inquiry was difficult enough to turn him back, no question sufficiently abstruse to deter him, no problem so complicated as to be left unsolved. I doubt if he ever really knew an idle waking hour. How often as we watched him we saw his lips moving, framing the words of his unuttered thought. Those who knew him best could not help feeling that even in his moments of apparent relaxation and good fellowship there was going on within him that mysterious thing which we sometimes call "unconscious cerebration;" that his mind was ever at work solving the weightiest questions.

Neither vast learning, powerful intellect, nor intense energy can make a man really great, unless his life is dominated by the highest moral purpose; and here, indeed, his nobility of soul was most apparent. His ideals were lofty. His was a spiritual life. I use that word, not in a religious sense, although he was by nature religious, but in its wider meaning. He lived for that which was noble, pure, and uplifting, rather than for that which was material and self-helping. His one unvarying thought was to better the world by the enforcement of the right.

We have heard sometimes of men who have tried to guide their lives according to some selected motto. I remember to have heard Senator HOAR quote in a speech in the Senate the text, "Whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report, if there be any virtue or if there be any praise, think on these things." I thought then that that was the motto upon which he endeavored to fashion his life. Idealist,

indeed, he was, and yet all his great gifts and powers were exercised to make his highest ideals the actualities of human life. Others have been great as lawyers, philosophers, statesmen, and as such he excelled, but he was greatest of all in his humanity. In the following of his high purposes he was inflexible. He sought to know the very right of things, from the advocacy of which no one could turn or swerve him. When he had determined in his mind that a certain course of action was right, he was ready to surrender friendships, associations, and personal comfort in following it. His convictions were positive. Anything once thought out by him was settled, and his course inflexibly defined. He might stand alone in his belief, but he never doubted himself.

Such, feebly outlined, I believe to have been the real elements of his greatness, and I am sure it was these qualities which so endeared him to his associates here in the Senate, to the people of his native State, and to the country at large. Let no one suppose that in dwelling upon these traits of his character I would leave it to be inferred that his nature was stern or hard or forbidding. On the contrary, he was one of the sweetest and gentlest souls that ever lived. Tender and true as a woman, guileless as a child, sincere and loving in his friendships, attractive in all his social qualities, a man loving and beloved.

We hear much of late of the greatly lauded, but rarely lived, simple life. I think Senator HOAR was a perfect illustration of true simplicity in living. He lived out his inward life. He tried to be in public and on every occasion just what he really was at heart, and this, as has been recently emphasized, is most compatible with true greatness.

The occasion demands brevity, but I should sadly fail to do justice to the memory of Senator HOAR if I did not refer to his

intense patriotism. His love of country was unbounded—it was a passion. Its history and its traditions were ingrained in his very being and became a part of him. No love of country is complete that does not include the love of those who have helped to fashion it, who have toiled and sacrificed for it. This is indeed the substratum of patriotism. This love is akin to ancestor worship. What the fathers thought, what they did, what they said, how they fought, was to him an inspiration. That he might follow in their footsteps, preserve the institutions they founded, pass on to posterity the blessings they brought to our people, was his constant aim. Every act of his public career was influenced by his ancestral love. To carry on the work begun at Plymouth Rock, fought for at Bunker Hill, crystallized in the Declaration of Independence, ordained in the Constitution of the United States, triumphant at Appomattox, was his life purpose—his ever present hope.

Senator HOAR was thirty-five years in Congress, a length of service rarely exceeded in our history—eight years representing his Congressional district in the House, twenty-seven years representing his State in the Senate. He followed great Senators from Massachusetts—Choate, Webster, Sumner, Wilson, not to speak of others justly entitled to be called great—but the interests of his State, its glory and honor, in no wise suffered by the comparison of his career with that of the great Senators who had gone before. In his love for his State, in his zeal for its welfare, in his devotion to the institutions of our country, to the love of freedom, to the well-being of our people, he was the peer of any of his great predecessors.

The word statesman has been belittled of late by those who have but a poor comprehension of its meaning. To really understand the meaning of the word we must emphasize both of the syllables which compose it. Senator HOAR was in the

highest and truest sense a statesman—a servant of the State, most truly a man. To the State, in its broadest sense, he gave ungrudgingly all that was highest, noblest, and best in him as a man. We of the Senate, the people of his city and Commonwealth, loved his personality, his personal qualities, but his State and the nation loved him most because of his zeal for the public good, because he was in very truth and deed a statesman.

One single other word and I must conclude. I am profoundly impressed by the thought of the influence that such a man as Senator HOAR exercises on the future. I am one of those who believe that no thought conceived by the brain, no word spoken by the lips, no act performed by the will has ever been lost or ceases to exert its influence upon mankind. No thought, word, or act of the highest, the lowest, the richest, the poorest, the best, or the worst of men and women who have lived on earth since the days when mankind became socially organized has ever been wholly effaced. The world is to-day what these thoughts, words, and deeds of all who have gone before us have made it, and the world of the future will, in this respect, be like the world of the present. Men die, but humanity lives on. We say that Senator HOAR is dead, but what he has done here is passed on to be reflected in the life of mankind so long as the earth and human life shall endure. Happy is the memory of the man who has thus lived and worked and impressed himself not only upon the present but the future.

Address of Mr. Teller, of Colorado

Mr. President: My first acquaintance with the late Senator Hoar began during the last session of the Forty-fourth Congress. He was a member of the Electoral Commission that decided the Presidential contest between Hayes and Tilden On the 4th of March, 1877, he became a member of this body. He had been a Member of the House of Representatives during the Forty-first, Forty-second, Forty-third, and Forty-fourth Congresses. His service in the House of Representatives had been conspicuous, and he was recognized as a worthy representative of the great State of Massachusetts in that body. Having been a member of the Electoral Commission in service here, he naturally came in for his share of the criticism of those who were displeased with the finding of the Commission. There was much bitterness and ill feeling on the part of those who had supported Tilden. The situation in several of the Southern States was troublesome, if not alarming; we were too near the close of the great civil war to allow that conservative action that could alone bring about peace between the former contending parties. Thus it will be seen Senator Hoar's entrance in this body was at a very important period of our history. Senator Hoar, as a member of the House of Representatives, had been an active and aggressive force, exerting much influence over his political associates, but I believe all who knew him will agree that the Senate was the proper place for the exercise of his great abilities. In this body he found opportunities for the display of his talents that he could not find in the House of Representatives. He met in this body the

ablest of his political opponents—men smarting under the defeat of 1876, who could not readily forgive him for the part he had taken in the final settlement of that contest.

The President called an extra session of Congress to meet in October. The membership of that Congress is somewhat remarkable. Among the Republicans were James G. Blaine, George F. Edmunds, Justin S. Morrill, Henry L. Dawes, Roscoe Conkling, Timothy O. Howe, Senator HOAR, John J. Ingalls, Hannibal Hamlin, William Windom, Samuel J. R. McMillan, of Minnesota; Henry B. Anthony; Ambrose E. Burnside, of Rhode Island; S. J. Kirkwood, of Iowa; Stanley Matthews, of Ohio; Aaron A. Sargent and Newton Booth, of California; O. P. Morton; John P. Jones; the senior Senator from Iowa, Mr. Allison, and the senior Senator from Oregon, Mr. Mitchell.

Among the Democrats were Allen G. Thurman, of Ohio; Thomas F. Bayard and Eli Saulsbury, of Delaware; Francis Kernan, of New York; James B. Beck, of Kentucky; L. Q. C. Lamar, of Mississippi; John T. Morgan, of Alabama; Benjamin Hill, of Georgia; I. G. Harris, of Tennessee; Joseph E. McDonald, of Indiana; Henry G. Davis, of West Virginia; the senior Senator from Missouri, Mr. Cockrell; T. F. Randolph, of New Jersey; W. Pinkney Whyte, of Maryland, and David Davis, of Illinois, just from the Supreme Court of the United States, who, while calling himself an independent, was, in fact, a Democrat.

The special session commencing on October 15, 1877, was an unusually exciting one, and the bitterness growing out of the decision of the Electoral Commission rather increased than decreased during the session. The Senator's commanding position in the House of Representatives enabled him to take an active part in the business before the Senate, and his

position on the Electoral Commission made him the special target of attack from his political opponents. Senator HOAR did not attempt to explain his action on the Commission, but met all attacks with spirit and in a way to command the respect of his opponents.

We know that the Senate does not readily concede to newcomers any more than they show themselves capable of winning. It did not take long for Senator HOAR to win his way to the front rank of the able men in the Senate, and we all know that he maintained that rank to the day of his last services in this body. While he was positive in his ideas and pressed the measures that he favored with intelligence and zeal, he was ever tolerant toward those who he believed differed with him from conviction.

I recall that while he was the chairman of the Committee on Privileges and Elections the House of Representatives sent to us a bill to regulate Federal elections, which was referred to that committee. I was at the time a member of that committee, and when we came to consider the measure I could not agree with my Republican colleagues. While I could see the evils complained of, I could not rid myself of the idea that it was a dangerous bill, and very likely to make matters worse rather than better. Senator HOAR appealed to me to allow a favorable report to be made. I agreed that he might report the bill in accordance with the wishes of the majority of the Republican members, but stated that I could not support the bill. The bill, after considerable delay, came before the Senate as a special order. It was extensively debated on both sides of the Chamber, but was finally laid aside and lost its place by the taking up of another bill. This change was accomplished by the vote of all the Democrats and six Republicans, the vote being 35 to 34. I do not recall the defeat of any measure that

created more feeling than the displacement of that bill. The recalcitrant Republicans were severely blamed, and many hard things said of those who failed to support the bill.

Soon after the displacement of that bill a conference of Republican Senators was called at the home of a Republican Senator to consider whether the bill should be abandoned or an effort made to pass it. I have attended many party conferences, but in no one, either before or since that conference, have I ever seen so much bitterness on the part of the defeated element. Speeches were made of an angry character, and the recalcitrant Republicans were unmercifully chastised. The offending Senators were quick to respond in the spirit of their accusers. Senator HOAR had taken but little part in the discussion; but when apparently the discussion was about to close he took the floor. We all knew how dear the bill was to him and how arduously he had labored to secure its passage. He told us how important he thought the bill; he spoke of the abuse it was intended to prevent, and the obligations on Congress to secure by law some way to destroy existing abuses. He frankly admitted that he had feared the bill if it became a law might be abused and harm done under the pretense of securing a fair election; he declared he had weighed this matter well and was alive to that danger, but he felt that it was his duty to support the bill. He was calm and dispassionate—I never saw him more so—but we could all see that he was greatly distressed by the failure of the measure. He then turned his attention to the Republican Senators who had opposed the bill. He declared that every Senator must act from his own sense of justice, and said there was no reason for harsh words or complaint, adding that he did not want anyone to violate his ideas of

justice. If Senators believed the bill to be bad it was their duty to defeat it by all fair means.

His speech acted like a charm on the discordant elements of the meeting. The conference dissolved without taking a vote, and that was the death of the so-called "force bill."

If anything could have induced me to vote for the bill, it was the manner the offending Senators were treated by Senator HOAR. I had known for years that he was great; then I knew he was good. The Senator conceded to his opponents all that he demanded for himself, and that was freedom of thought and the right to follow his conscience, even against the dictates of a caucus. Mr. President, one who can face defeat, see his plans frustrated, when he feels sure they are right, and accept such defeat without bitterness or hate, may well be called great.

Senator HOAR was a partisan; he could not be otherwise, for he was a man of positive convictions. He formed his opinion after careful study and deliberate thought, but his partisanship did not lead him to accept as right whatever had the support of his party. He considered and determined for himself, and if his judgment did not approve of a measure he did not hesitate to oppose it, even when prepared and supported by his party. He was opposed to the Spanish treaty made at the close of the Spanish war. He did not hesitate to part with his political friends and oppose ratification, and later, when the policy of his party as to the control and management of the newly acquired islands appeared to him to be wrong, he criticised it in strong terms. While his attitude on that question brought on him severe criticism of his party supporters, he did not waver in his opposition, and his attitude on that question vindicated his life record as the opponent of whatever he believed

to be wrong. Those who believed with him, and those who did not, realized that his attitude was such as might be expected of him, and could but honor him for it.

He was a scholar, a constitutional lawyer, a patriot, and a statesman. He was a lover of freedom, not for himself alone or his race alone, but for all mankind. He hated wrong and loved justice, and to the extent of his capacities helped the unfortunate without distinction of race.

Massachusetts has sent here some of the most notable members of this body. Some may have attained a greater fame than he, but I am sure none were superior to him in all those noble qualities that make a great Senator. Massachusetts will suffer through his death, but not alone, for all lovers of a clean, pure life throughout the length of our land will mourn the death of this ideal American Senator.

Address of Mr. Cullom, of Illinois

Mr. President: This day has been set apart that we may pay tribute to the memory of one of the most distinguished men who ever occupied a seat in the Senate of the United States—George Frisbie Hoar, of Massachusetts.

Everywhere in this great nation the people are familiar with the name of George F. Hoar. Beloved by many, respected by all, Senator Hoar, at the time of his death, was one of the marked figures in American public life.

Full of years and of honors he passed away, and his great public career is well calculated to challenge the admiration and respect of his countrymen.

There is a lesson to be learned from the life of a great man, and it is interesting to know the lesson which Senator Hoar learned from his own life.

Looking back, seeing in retrospect his long life, extending almost fourscore years, in the twilight of his career, he repeats these words:

> The lesson which I have learned in life, which is impressed on me daily and more deeply as I grow old, is the lesson of good will and good hope. I believe that to-day is better than yesterday, and that to-morrow will be better than to-day. I believe that, in spite of so many errors and wrongs and even crimes, my countrymen of all classes desire what is good and not what is evil.

George F. Hoar was a religious man; two of the essentials of his religion were "good will, good hope," based on that passage in scripture which, as he says, sums up the whole destiny of man, "and now abideth faith, hope, and charity—these three."

Thirty-six years ago, when we were both young men, I served with Senator HOAR in the House of Representatives of the Congress. For more than twenty-one years I had the honor of occupying a seat near him in the Senate of the United States. For nearly a quarter of a century I knew him somewhat intimately.

He was a liberal, broad-minded man. He had few, if any, of the common prejudices so often associated with party, religion, country, or sectionalism.

A true Republican from the birth of that party, of which he was an honored member from the beginning of the party until his death, he used the following language:

> I believe our countrymen of the other party, in spite of what we deem their errors, would take the Republic and bear on the flag to liberty and glory.

Descending from a long line of Protestant ancestors, living in New England, the home of the Puritan, he said:

> I believe if every Protestant were stricken down by a lightning stroke, that our brethren of the Catholic faith would still carry on the Republic in the spirit of true and liberal freedom.

An American, whose grandfather and two great-grandfathers fought in the Revolution, it would not be surprising if he distrusted men of foreign birth who have come to this country, but he did not. His speeches and writings give absolute evidence of his faith in the patriotism and love of our country in the hearts of foreigners who come to America and become citizens of the United States.

He was a Northerner by birth and by education, in the full vigor of manhood during the terrible struggle between the North and South, intensely loyal to the North, but he still had faith in the South, and believed that "if every man in the North were to die the South would take up the country and bear it on to the achievement of its lofty destiny."

Senator HOAR was an opponent of stringent immigration laws, and particularly was he opposed to our Chinese-exclusion policy. He believed that this country was large enough and great enough to afford a haven of refuge for the oppressed people of all the world.

It was these characteristics which so endeared Senator HOAR to the great majority of the people of this nation.

While Senator HOAR was a liberal man, respecting the views of other men and of his party, yet he was too strong intellectually, too true to his own convictions, to be a follower of any man or class of men. When he had fully made up his mind on any question, no power could move him. The pressure of party and of Administration were useless. He differed with his party on many important questions, but on that account he did not feel it to be his duty to abandon the party with which he had been so long associated. Rather did he remain in the party and endeavor to bring it to his views, and sometimes he succeeded in this.

He opposed with all his power of eloquence and argument the retention of the Philippine Islands and the expansion policy of his party. But he retained an affectionate regard for the late President McKinley, who fully reciprocated this feeling.

All the power of party could not induce Senator HOAR to support a policy or cast a vote that his conscience did not fully approve.

While Senator HOAR was liberal and kindly toward other men, yet, like all strong-minded men, he had intense "likes" and intense "dislikes" for particular individuals. He never lost his affection for President McKinley, with whom he differed on many questions, or his dislike of the late General Butler.

Senator HOAR was not a politician in the usual sense of that term. He knew little of practical politics and, apparently, cared less. In his case office sought the man. I have been told that he never sought or asked for public office.

He was an active and prominent Member of the House of Representatives, recognized for his legal ability and rendering important service on committees and on the floor.

In the Senate he has been recognized as an able lawyer and statesman, interested in all important legislation and taking a prominent part in the discussion and disposition of public questions. His committee service was confined principally to the two law committees of the Senate—the Judiciary and Privileges and Elections. Senator HOAR was a thorough lawyer, loving his profession, which, it might be said, he inherited, his father being a well-known lawyer in Massachusetts, a State noted for its great lawyers and jurists. His brother was the distinguished Attorney-General in the Cabinet of President Grant.

There were few more cultivated men in public life than Senator HOAR. He was not a self-made man in the sense that Lincoln was. He had advantages which Lincoln and some of the great men of this country did not have. He was a member of an old and well-known New England family. He received a classical education in the best college in the United States. His early life was spent among highly cultivated people. He knew our greatest poets and men of letters—Longfellow, Whittier, Emerson, Thoreau, Lowell, and Hawthorne.

He was a student all his life, daily adding to his great store of learning. He never seemed to forget his early classical training, and was ever ready in debate and in his writings with an apt Latin or Greek quotation to illustrate a point.

Senator HOAR was an able debater—an effective and forceful speaker—having great command of language.

Senator HOAR was a splendid writer. Had his time been devoted to literature rather than to law and public office, he would have been one of the foremost men of letters in this country. His autobiography is a well-written and interesting history of the United States for the past seventy years, written by one who had a prominent part in public affairs since 1869. From a literary standpoint parts of that autobiography have hardly been surpassed. His description of Edward Everett, the orator, is particularly fine.

He was very often, in the press of the United States and among the people, described as the "Grand Old Man of America." And in many respects Senator HOAR did resemble that great British statesman, the "Grand Old Man of England," William Ewart Gladstone, whose long parliamentary career extended for more than sixty years. Mr. HOAR'S public career was not so long as that of Mr. Gladstone, but it was among the longest of our American statesmen.

Like Mr. Gladstone, Mr. HOAR had all the advantages of a splendid education, and was the man of letters whose natural taste would have inclined him to literature rather than politics. Like Mr. Gladstone, he was not bound by the dictates of party, and did not hesitate to do what was deemed to be right in public affairs, regardless of what party policies dictated. Like Mr. Gladstone, he stood for economy and honesty in public office. In religion Mr. HOAR was not as orthodox as Mr. Gladstone, but he had as firm and true a belief in an Overruling Providence, in a hereafter. Like Mr. Gladstone, he was a Christian statesman, a lover of peace, the friend of the oppressed in all lands.

GEORGE F. HOAR was more nearly the Gladstone of America than any of our statesmen of recent times.

William Ewart Gladstone, of Great Britain, and GEORGE FRISBIE HOAR, of the United States, lived during the same period, and died respected and mourned by their countrymen.

Massachusetts has reason to be proud of her great men. No State in the Union has given to the country a larger number of great statesmen and great jurists or so many famed men of letters.

Her many famous men of Continental days were followed by such men as Webster, Choate, Sumner, Everett, Cushing, and Wilson. These are men of whom any nation might well be proud.

GEORGE F. HOAR was of the type of our early American statesmen, of the fathers, the signers of the Constitution, and was the worthy successor in the Senate of the United States of Adams, Webster, Choate, and Sumner.

Mr. President, while we shall not see again in this Senate his kindly and genial face, yet his example and burning words uttered here and elsewhere on important questions will continue to be a living force to guide us in the discharge of our great duties in the interests of the country.

Mr. President, in concluding I may be permitted to quote the closing paragraph of the eulogy by William H. Seward in memory of Henry Clay.

His remarks are peculiarly applicable on this occasion. He said:

> His example remains for our instruction. His genius has passed to the realms of life, but his virtues still live here for our emulation. With them there will remain also the protection and favor of the Most High, if by the practice of justice and maintenance of freedom we shall deserve them. Let, then, the bier pass on. We will follow with sorrow, but not without hope, the reverent form that it bears to its final resting place; and then, when the grave opens at our feet to receive so estimable a treasure, we will invoke the God of our fathers to send us new guides like him that is now withdrawn and give us wisdom to obey their instructions.

Address of Mr. Daniel, of Virginia

Mr. President: A great man has passed. He filled the place once occupied by Webster, by Choate, by Winthrop, by Sumner; and he stood up in it in full stature. Worthy successors will fill that place, but when the Dictator of Events removed from it forever George Frisbie Hoar, the senior Senator from Massachusetts, it seemed rather like the passing of an era than the departure of a man.

No constituent vote recalled him from his worthy and acceptable services. No constitutional limit exhausted his term. No design of man and no accident of chance snapped the thread of his existence. In the fullness of years Time wrote "the end" to the book of his deeds and his thoughts.

He was well-nigh 80 years of age. He had heard the whispers of the low waves that played on the beach of the mighty ocean that has not known a returning sail.

A little over a year before his death he spoke of the death of a lifetime friend who had gone before him: "The friend of my mature manhood, the friend of my mature age, almost the last of them, has gone to his honored grave. This," said he "is what makes dying to an old man. It is not that you grow blind or deaf or halt or lame; it is not that you lay down this frail tenement in which we walk. When the rich music of the voices we love is silent, it is well that the ear grows deaf. When the faces that were our delight have disappeared, it is well that the eyes grow blind. It is this losing that is true dying."

I shall not repeat the details of his long career, which have been better told by others here, but say a few things which struck me concerning him. The people of my State, also their representatives here, had a great respect and liking for him, no matter how much they had differed from him. It was because they saw in him the man of principle and honor, the patriot who put his country first in his affections, and because they also recognized his possession of a benevolent and friendly heart that played like sunshine over the austerities of principle and that lent even to them its charms.

I have called Senator HOAR a great man. He is entitled to rank in that category. It is only the honest fact that I recite. No man is great save by comparison and contrast with his fellows. If all the intellects of all the great thinkers of the world for all time were put together, they would form but an infinitesimal atom of the infinite wisdom that rules the universe.

Senator HOAR was a tall and stately, yea, an illustrious, figure among the foremost men of his day and generation, and in many aspects none were his superiors. He was great in his devotion and service to the paramount ideals of his manhood. He was great in his integrity to the principles which he professed. He loved language, the greatest of all instrumentalities for the communication of thought. He loved letters, and the refinements of thought which they alone can give. He was saturated with the most profound reflections and utterances of the greatest speakers, poets, and thinkers. He painted many a picture which enchained the gaze of the lover of the true, the beautiful, and the good. His tongue spoke many a sentence which aroused the spirit of just reflection and of action and fixed it in firm resolve and elevated the mind to a higher plane of thinking. He was a great

lawyer; he dealt mostly with the great underlying principles which run their root into natural law; he loved its logic and its philosophies, and the greater the occasion that invoked the play of his faculties the greater would he have appeared in their exercise.

Whether in current debate or in a more stately and formal occasion, his ability as an orator was always conspicuous. His eloquence was attuned to a high key and found expression in clear and sonorous notes. He left no doubt upon the minds of his hearers as to the earnestness of his convictions, as to the power of his logic, or as to the charm of his speech. He was, in a long career, the colleague of many of the brightest intellects and most powerful disputants that ever shone in public discussions, and he suffered by comparison with none of them. He drew from poetry and from art, as well as from history, the fine raiments of his discourses. Some of them, like the armor of great knights who have gone, will be preserved while memory keeps records of battles that will be fought no more. But many of them are more than the obsolete armor of past conflicts and of departed men; they are wellsprings of wisdom and of refreshment, to which passing generations will continually repair for that feast of reason and that flow of soul which are to be found in communion with great minds and great hearts.

Senator HOAR brought with him to the Senate a keen sense of the exalted station in our Government that a Senator occupies. That sense was quick in his breast during all of his long service, and he preserved it without ever doing anything to lower the dignity of his office. It was once known that he had been offered the appointment by the President as Ambassador to Great Britain, and in a friendly way I expressed to him courteous personal congratulation. His reply was that a

Senator from the old historic State of Massachusetts, honoring my own State of Virginia by associating it in the same connection, could not be promoted by any other office, great as he knew was the one tendered to him, and as much as he appreciated the honor of having his name so mentioned. The sentiment was worthy of him and of the great State which he loved and served so well. He felt and often expressed his conviction that no Senator should receive in his own person any appointment, employment, or emolument from Executive authority while still exercising the Senatorial office. He considered it essential to the dignity and independence of the Senate that a Senator be a Senator only. He believed that a Senator should owe no personal obligation to any sources of power saving alone those which gave him the title and place of Senator and that fixed his duties.

As a member of a great co-ordinate branch of the Congress, as a judge in a great court that has had and may at any time have the President or other high officer at its bar to answer in judgment, and as an executive agent to share with the President himself the power of appointment, he did not believe it compatible with those relations to become the recipient of personal favor from any Executive authority.

This was, in my humble opinion, a just and true conception of the Senatorial office which he filled so well; and I rejoiced to hear him express a view which I deemed so worthy. Let me remark, however, upon the gentleness as well as upon the emphasis and clearness of his opinion. He indulged in no animadversion upon men who had differed with him about that matter and had set a different example. In his autobiography there are some wise reflections kindred to such as ruled him in opinion as to others on this matter, and his mind upon differences between men of equal honor and conscience.

It is a remarkable truth—

He says—

that impresses itself upon me more and more the longer I live, that men who are perfectly sincere and patriotic may differ from each other on what seems the greatest principles of legislation, and yet both sides be conscientious and patriotic. There is hardly a political question among the great questions that have interested the American people for the last few centuries upon which we did not differ from each other. The difference is not only as to the interpretation of the Constitution and the law for the government of the people, but seems to go down to the very roots of the moral law.

That this is a fact upon which he rested no man can doubt, and it is a fact upon which liberalism may build its temple founded on a rock. That "no pent-up Utica" bound his powers of discrimination and that no sectional line was permitted to obscure his sense of justice of the worthy and the noble was often exhibited in generous words and actions. Notably did he display his appreciation of great virtue in what he says in his book of Gen. Edward C. Walthall, of Mississippi, whom he describes most justly as "a perfect type of the gentleman in character and speech, and as courteous and eager to be of service to his friends or his country," and to him he pays a tribute which is the badge of true and lasting glory both to him who gave and to him who received. "If," says he, "I were to select the one man of all others with whom I have served in the Senate who seems to me the most perfect example of the quality and character of the American Senator, I think it would be Edward C. Walthall, of Mississippi."

Senator HOAR in his service here was a Senator only. He looked the Senator; he spoke the Senator. His eye was single and it was full of light. No man ever said or thought of him that he was the servant of personal ambitions or of private ends. There are many things in heaven and in earth that can not be seen by our eyes, or heard by our ears, or touched by our hands,

or which are within the pale of our senses; more indeed "than are dreamed of in our philosophies." Hence many a noble aim may miss its mark, however clear be the eye that discerns, however firm be the will that directs, however true be the hand that obeys. It is only possible to the human to be right in mind and conscience and to be sincere in heart. So felt the prophet when he said: "Keep thy heart with all diligence; for out of it are the issues of life." So did Senator HOAR keep his heart. He aimed his arrow at wrong wherever he thought he found it. He lifted his shield over the right wherever he thought the right needed reenforcement. It is only in such performance of duty that true glory may be found.

"The most important thing about a man is his religion," said Thomas Carlyle, for it is true that out of the creed grows the deed. Mr. HOAR had a religion. It was a noble one. If I sought to sum it up I would say it was "God and humanity; over all and in all, God." He was Unitarian in his profession, and at the National Unitarian Conference in this city in October, 1899, he said: "Every Unitarian man or woman, every lover of God or His Son, everyone who in loving his fellow-men loves God and His Son, even without knowing it, is welcome to this company." * * * "No Five Points, no Athanasian creed, no Thirty-nine Articles could separate the men and women of our way of thinking from humanity or from Divinity." * * * "We are sometimes told that we can not define Unitarianism. For myself I thank God it is not to be defined. To define is to bound, to inclose, to limit. The great things of the universe are not to be defined. You can not define human soul. You can not define the intellect. You can not define immortality or eternity. You can not define God."

He preached hope, faith, and charity, and finally "that whatever clouds may darken the horizon the world is growing better; that to-day is better than yesterday, and to-morrow will be better than to-day."

The great career of Isham G. Harris was portrayed by Senator HOAR in an address, which, leaving out a few phrases which identify the speaker, might have been spoken by the neighbor and life-long associate of that distinguished Tennessean and true American; for it is replete with every note of appreciation of that singularly able, direct, frank, courageous, and manly man. Senator Harris's services here and elsewhere are clothed with reflections such as are in our hearts to-day with respect to his eulogist, but which no one could express so well as did Senator HOAR.

His influence—

Said Mr. HOAR—

will be felt here for a long time; his striking figure will still be moving about the Senate Chamber, still deliberating and still debating. Mr. President, it is delightful to think that between men who took part in the great conflict of the civil war, at least a greater part of them, the bitter feelings are all gone. Throughout the whole land the word "countrymen" has at last become a title of endearment. The memory of the soldiers of that great conflict is preserved as gently by both sides. Massachusetts joins with Tennessee in putting a wreath on the tomb of her great soldier, her great governor, her great Senator. He was faithful to truth as he saw it, to duty as he understood it, to constitutional liberty as he conceived it.

Not only Virginia, the elder sister of Massachusetts, not only the old thirteen States that founded our fabric of Government, but all of the forty-five American Commonwealths that to-day constitute the Republic, say this of him, who so nobly applied it to another: "He was faithful to truth as he saw it, to duty as he understood it, to constitutional liberty as he conceived it." He, like Harris, is also dead. Together

all the States bow their heads beside his tomb. Together they bind their wreaths of honor and affection and lay them encircled there.

Man sees all things die around him. The bud and the blossom die. The leaf and the tree die. The birds of the air and the fishes of the sea, the creatures of the forest and the field and the desert; alike, they die. Man in this respect is like them, and we see and feel and know within ourselves, as did our dying brother, that of a truth we die daily. The days die and the nights die. The weeks and the months and the years and the centuries and the æons die. Time itself, even as we call its name and with our every breath, dies away from us. An eternity without beginning lies behind us—dead.

But all things, too, are quickening, pulsing, and springing into life around us—out of darkness the light, out of death life again; and creation and re-creation forever reappear through fire and flood, through ice and air, through land and sea, in the skies above the earth and in the waters under the earth, uprising and widespreading their redundant and ceaseless continuances and reassertions of life, life, life. See we not, therefore, that all things at all times testify to life, to life instant, to life constant, to life impregnable and irresistible, to life all-conquering; it is scarcely a step to say, to life everlasting. This is what Senator HOAR believed. If these things apply to the material things around us, from which creation is ever evoking newer and higher forms of life, how much more do they seem applicable to the finer and subtler things of spirit; and is it not in the life and character and thought and aspiration and loving kindness of such men as was GEORGE FRISBIE HOAR in that we find indeed the strongest intimations in nature of immortality?

Address of Mr. Gallinger, of New Hampshire

Mr. President: Longfellow's poetic allusion to Bayard Taylor may appropriately be applied to the late Senator Hoar:

> Dead he lay among his books,
> The peace of God was in his looks.
> As the statues in the gloom
> Watch o'er Maximilian's tomb,
> So those volumes from their shelves
> Watched him, silent as themselves.

Genial, lovable, witty, scholarly, and eloquent, loving his books and reveling in intellectual research, George Frisbie Hoar was the highest type of the scholar in politics. A profound student, a great jurist, and omnivorous reader, his wonderful mind seemed to retain accurate knowledge on almost every conceivable subject, so much so that his associates in the Senate rarely questioned the authenticity of his utterances. How he illumined every discussion that dealt with historical subjects, and how wonderful and instructive were his speeches on the great questions of the day. It seemed to those of us who were privileged to listen to his words of wisdom and admonition that he must always remain in this body, the great central figure of the arena in which his talents were so conspicuously displayed. But he was mortal, and in the fullness of his years the summons came, and his inspiring presence is with us no more. Loving him as we did, it is fitting that words of eulogy, however inadequate they may be, should be spoken by his associates, who knew him as one of the greatest Senators that the Republic has produced.

Of what we shall say here of the late Senator from Massachusetts little may survive the day of its utterance. Our tributes to his worth may soon be forgotten. Our estimates of his character may add nothing to his fame. Our eulogies may not be necessary to keep in the memory of his countrymen his service to the nation. Yet the opinion of his associates in the field of his public usefulness is but the spontaneous testimony of those who have felt the inspiration and uplifting of his presence. Perhaps the most we can hope is that the judgment of his contemporaries may aid the future historian, free from the prejudice and feeling of the hour in which he writes, to assign to Senator HOAR his place among those who have had a prominent part in the making of the Republic.

When I entered the Senate in 1891 Senator HOAR had been a member for fourteen years, that being a much longer service than is usual in this body. He had already attained a leadership in the councils of the nation which gave to his views the earnest consideration of the country. As a product of New England, my own State had pride in him second only to that of Massachusetts. He stood the conspicuous representative of New England thought and New England independence of action. He had become a fixture in this body. If there was thought anywhere entertained of his ceasing to be a Senator from Massachusetts it never found public expression. Differ, as he frequently did, from the people of the East on public questions, there was that weight given to his opinions and that confidence felt in his integrity that any New England State would have returned him term after term, as did the State of Massachusetts. He held a place in the affections of the people of New England second to that of none other in our history. Some of his predecessors in this body have been rebuked or retired for failing to represent the current opinions of a

majority of their constituents, but Senator HOAR'S hold upon the public was such that his commission read: "For life, to act as your conscience dictates."

Nor was the deference paid to the views of Senator HOAR by the people of New England greater than that of his associates in this body. Whatever the subject under discussion it had not been exhausted, or the last fitting word spoken, if Senator HOAR was yet to address the Senate. Out of his learning and research would come new facts and new thoughts for consideration. Every debate in which he had a part was enriched by his contribution. His knowledge of history and of precedent was profound and accurate, and he gave of his abundant store of information to all matters of legislation. With him no subject was too trivial for thoughtful discussion. He was ever the careful, painstaking, and conscientious public servant. Dissenting often from his opinions, there was always that great respect for his views which is paid only to those who command it from the superiority of their knowledge and the integrity of their purpose.

Senator HOAR'S service in both branches of Congress covered almost a third of the period of the Government since the adoption of the Federal Constitution. Others have been here as long at different times in our history, but to few has it been given to witness and be a part of so great development and so many changes. At the entrance of his career the fifteenth and last amendment of the Constitution was proposed in Congress, and he therefore participated in making our organic law what it is to-day. Versed in all the facts pertaining to the construction and evolution of that document, he could rightly consider himself one of its expounders, and most jealous was he of any departure from its provisions. In all of the important legislation since 1869 he had a part in molding it to the needs of the

country. The impress of his thought is stamped upon the statutes of the nation for a generation. His life may be read in our laws, our policies, and our growth. If no one great measure owes to him its authorship it is because he distributed the genius necessary to such a creation over a multitude of enactments.

Mr. President, there is little contemporary appreciation of the faithful public servant, his personal sacrifice, and his fidelity to the trust committed to his care. The public sees but the glamour of power, and notices but the acts that go contrary to its opinion. Senator HOAR'S life was the highest type of civic patriotism, for it was dedicated in the loftiest degree to the public service Honor, fame, reward awaited him in his profession or in the field of literature. Yielding to his inclination and taste, he had ahead of him the comforts of private life, its enjoyments, its freedom from public vexations, its satisfying returns. This enticing picture of the future he put aside when the call came to him to take up the public burden, and he bore his part without complaint. Truly there is a heroism of peace as well as of war, and Senator HOAR was the civic hero of his generation.

Could anything be more beautiful and inspiring than his life? In the world at large he had also his part in the public weal. Did the cause of philanthropy need an advocate, he was there. Did the oppressed of other nations call for a champion, his voice was raised in their behalf. Was it a moral lesson to teach, he pointed it with a force at once striking and effective. Did the shadow of superstition darken the land, his gospel of faith, hope, and cheer lifted the veil. To his neighbors he was the beloved citizen. To his countrymen he was the statesman without reproach. To the youth of the nation he was the example of true manhood. To us here he was a helper and

friend. To the future we may leave his fame, content that he who writes impartially of that period of the Republic from the close of the war between the States to the incoming twentieth century will place Senator HOAR high among those who loved their country, and gave of the best within them for her betterment. Peace to his ashes.

Address of Mr. Bacon, of Georgia

Mr. President: It is too frequently true that the language of eulogy far surpasses the true merit of the object of its praise. The ancient maxim of the Latins, "Speak no evil of the dead," found its inspiration in the same charity which impels the ascription of virtues to one who has gone from the living, far exceeding those which are recognized and accorded to him when in life. It is most rarely true that he who approaches the grateful task of paying tribute to one who was loved and honored in life is freed from the apprehension that he may say more than the record may warrant.

No such apprehension disturbs me when I come to speak of Senator Hoar. On the contrary, his life was so rich in its great accomplishments, his character so strong and so individualistic, his intellectual culture and attainments so high and so varied, and his career so long and so distinguished, in letters, at the bar, and in the national councils, that as I attempt these few words I am oppressed with the consciousness that, even if time permitted, my utterances would be feeble to express the meed of honor and of encomium which he merits and which I would gladly pay to his memory.

In the ten years I have been associated with him in this Chamber, through eight of which I have served on the Judiciary Committee under his chairmanship, I have come to know and to admire him as the learned lawyer and as the wise statesman; as the patriot with boundless devotion to the country and pride in its institutions and in the imperishable principles of

its Government; as the great orator upon whose words the Senate was wont to hang with conscious pride, and to which the nation lent an ever eager ear. And withal, as time passed and with it was given the opportunity to know him, when measuring him, not in the narrow limitations of the specialist, but in the broad field which must be occupied by the all-round man, facing and personally dealing with the varied demands and problems and activities, social and political, of his day, I came to regard him as the most scholarly and the most intellectually cultivated, and the best-equipped man, not only in the Senate, not only in the Congress, but also among all those with whom it has been my fortune to come into personal contact and association. Doubtless it is true that in some respects he was excelled by some men, and that in other respects he was excelled by other men, for however it may have been in the earlier day of more contracted scope of intellectual vision, in this day of limitless intellectual development it is impossible that any man can "take all knowledge to be his province." But nevertheless, in the general range of capacity and acquirement, and taking him as a whole, I have never known the man whom, in general scholarship and intellectual culture and equipment, I have thought to be his superior.

To such scholarship, to such intellectual culture and attainment he added great personal industry, intensity of conviction, and unfaltering purpose.

But, sir, in the brief moment that I may to-day properly occupy it is not for me to speak of him in this larger view. Nevertheless, omitting the general consideration which is now impracticable, I may briefly advert to a few characteristics and recent incidents in his career.

If there was with him one sentiment deeper and more intense than all others, it was his love of the right of personal

liberty and his devotion to the right of self-government. Born on the spot where in 1775 was fired the first shot which echoed round the world the proclamation of personal and political freedom, his heart was ever true to these fundamental rights, warmed as it was by the blood which had coursed through the veins of his patriotic sires. To their defense from all assaults, whether from friend or foe, he was ever

> Constant as the northern star,
> Of whose true-fixed and resting quality
> There is no fellow in the firmament.

Striking was the evidence of this devotion which he gave within recent years. He was one of the founders of the political party of which he was a most distinguished member. For near half a century he was its zealous and ardent adherent, and for the greater part of the time he stood in the front rank of its leadership. He was devoted to its principles and proud of its history and of its achievements. He loved it as one loves those of his bone and of his flesh. Nevertheless when that party to whose service he was thus consecrated did those things and advocated those policies which in his opinion violated the right of personal and political liberty, and which in his judgment violated the right of self-government, he, with the loved and venerable Morrill, of Vermont, took issue with his party, and during the years when that controversy raged fiercely here he battled for those rights with a power and eloquence and an untiring pertinacity which have never been surpassed in this Chamber; and those of us who in that fierce controversy thought as he did were honored in being accounted worthy to follow him afar off.

One thing personal to him, Mr. President, I may not forbear to mention. His political party has been for a generation

sharply at issue with the policies and the measures predominant in the South. Throughout the lengthening years it has naturally resulted that in the heat of political controversy there have been engendered the fires of personal and political antagonism.

And yet, during these same years, no one has spoken more kindly and in words more laudatory of the South than has Senator HOAR; and both in this Chamber and on the rostrum elsewhere he has repeatedly borne testimony to the high ideals and the nobility of character of the people of the South, and to the integrity and probity of her public men—virtues the possession of which they prize more than political power or the rewards that wait on political supremacy. And, sir, I am glad of this opportunity to thus publicly testify to the great appreciation of the South of his generous praise and to express the gratitude and honor in which her people will ever hold his memory.

To this, Mr. President, I wish to add the expression of my personal sorrow for his loss. When he went hence, a great void was made in this Chamber, which none other can fill. Wise in council, strong in debate, defiant of wrong, dauntless in the advocacy of the right, ripe in experience, and venerable in years, he spoke when others were silent.

Proud of the Senate, he was jealous of its prerogatives, and his prompt challenge met every attempt to invade or violate them. Devoted to the system and the spirit of our Government, he was ever the fearless and outspoken champion in their defense. And since he has gone from among us, when upon occasion they have seemed to me to be here in jeopardy, I have involuntarily turned to his old familiar seat, and I have longed for the voice that is still.

Mr. President, Massachusetts has borne a conspicuous part in the history of our country. She was "the cradle in which young Liberty was rocked." The first blood shed in the cause of independence was poured out upon her soil. Since that first shot at Concord great has been the number of her illustrious sons. When she comes to enroll their names, high among those worthy to be chief in her pride and in her affections will be found that of GEORGE FRISBIE HOAR.

Address of Mr. Perkins, of California

Mr. President: How great the loss of our country is in the death of George Frisbie Hoar will, perhaps, not be fully realized until time shall have enabled Americans to fully understand and appreciate the loftiness of his character and the power of his intellect. We of this body, of which he was so long one of its most distinguished members, have had a better opportunity to learn what manner of man he was than others of his contemporaries, and I am sure that if we can not now measure the true greatness of the man we are able to ascribe to him a place in public life from which posterity will, at least, not lower him. We who saw him at the close range of every-day life, without that perspective which is necessary to show the harmony of parts, recognize him as one of the greatest Americans, whose qualities of heart and mind we believe entitle him to the rank of one of the foremost men of his time and generation.

Some idea of the man and of his character can be obtained from a mere reading of the brief sketch of his life which appears in Congressional publications. The bare facts there set forth show that from the time he began life until his death he stood upon a high intellectual and moral plane. His associates from youth were with those of elevated character and unusual intellectual attainments, and in this atmosphere he passed a long, a useful, and an unselfish life. As we learn more and more of the work, public and private, in which he was engaged, we acquire a wider and clearer conception of the breadth of his understanding and the wide range of his sympathies. The movements and institutions with which his name

is connected form a true index of the bent of his mind and the aim of his efforts. In no position to which his great attainments called him is there a chance to suspect that selfish ambition had an opportunity to manifest itself. It is true, doubtless, that ambition had a place among the reasons which induced him to accept the positions of honor to which he gave the dignity of his character, but it was an ambition to serve others, not to serve himself.

The colleagues of Senator HOAR in the Senate of the United States will, without exception, bear witness to the predominating characteristic of his work as a public man—unselfish desire to promote the public good. In a word, he was a patriot in the highest and strictest meaning of the term. In no word that he uttered, in no act that he performed, was there other than the most sincere desire to effect something for the common good. We who have had the opportunity to know him personally, to study him as affected by the many and various conditions and situations which occur here, have never had reason to suspect that the thought of self ever shaded the meaning of a phrase or gave the motive for an act. Throughout his long public career nothing has been brought out more clearly than that the object of all his efforts was the well-being of the Republic—the peace, happiness, and prosperity of its citizens. And I think that the future historian who is able to make an unbiased estimate of the worth of the public men who have gone will affirm that of the great men who were distinguished for their love of country none stood before GEORGE FRISBIE HOAR.

It is this characteristic of the great successor of the great men whom Massachusetts has sent to the United States Senate which appeals to me most strongly, and I would that I could impress it upon those who are ambitious to follow in his footsteps in public life. It is a characteristic which was found in

those who founded the Republic, maintained it through all the vicissitudes through which it has passed, and which must exist in the citizens of the Republic if the Republic is to endure.

The patriotism of GEORGE F. HOAR was that of the men of '76, the men of the Revolution, the men of the civil war, to whom self was as naught compared with the public good. And his colleagues in this Chamber will readily recall many instances in which it was as clear as the sun on an unclouded day that his public act was performed in the knowledge that it exposed him to penalties which none but the strongest and most unselfish men are willing to invite. I think he stands to-day the type of the American who has made the United States possible, and without whom it can not long exist; and I can not point out a more illustrious example for young Americans to follow than the great statesman whose memory we here honor to-day.

As long as the standard which he set for himself is the standard of the youth of America there need be no fear for the future of our country. Americans with the patriotic ideals of GEORGE FRISBIE HOAR are an invincible defense against enemies from within or foes from without.

This unselfish love of country was what made Senator HOAR, with his great abilities and his wide learning, a statesman in the broadest and highest sense. Mere politics had no place in his scheme of public life. While a man loyal to his party, and lending to it the weight of his great intellect and wide experience, often following it, as long as there was ground for a reasonable and honest doubt, in paths which did not meet his hearty approval, he was ever ready to rise above party when his conscience was aroused and his reason was convinced. Party ties were then as cobweb shackles to his actions. First with him came the good of our common country. Party

advantage and party policy were at all times secondary to the welfare of all the people. And such was the knowledge of the man by his immediate constituents, and such the absolute confidence in his honesty of judgment and devotion to the best interests of the Republic, that a resolution was reported in the Massachusetts legislature on the occasion of his strenuous opposition to party policy on the pending treaty relative to the Philippines, declaring that Massachusetts left her Senators "untrammeled in the exercise of an independent and patriotic judgment upon the momentous questions presented for their consideration." And never was implicit confidence more worthily placed than in GEORGE F. HOAR. In his recently published memoirs he sets forth his attitude as a public man as follows:

> I have throughout my whole public political life acted upon my own judgment. I have done what I thought for the public interest, without much troubling myself about public opinion. * * * I account it my great good fortune that, although I have never flinched from uttering whatever I thought and acting according to my own conviction of public duty, that as I am approaching fourscore years I have, almost without an exception, the good will of my countrymen. * * * I have never in my life cast a vote or done an act in legislation that I did not at the time believe to be right—

What a splendid sentiment! And this action we can follow and imitate with credit to ourselves as individual Senators and with honor to our country.

> I have never in my life cast a vote or done an act in legislation that I did not at the time believe to be right and that I am not now willing to avow and to defend and debate with any champion of sufficient importance who desires to attack it at any time and in any presence. Whether I am right or wrong in my opinion as to the duty of acting with and adherence to party, it is the result not of emotion or attachment or excitement, but of as cool, calculating, sober, and deliberate reflection as I am able to give to any question of conduct or duty. Many of the things I have done in this world which have been approved by other men, or have tended to give me any place in the respect of my countrymen, have been done in opposition, at the time, to the party to which I belonged.

In all his long career in the House of Representatives and in the Senate not one act or word of his is recorded that would serve to throw suspicion upon the absolute purity of his motives and his almost religious zeal for the welfare of his country. He was always looking far into the future, which his great knowledge and long experience taught him has many and vital problems yet to be solved, and with the sagacity which makes of a sincere, a patriotic, and an able man a true statesman, he sought to so guide legislation that posterity should find no cause to condemn as errors the acts of the Congress of the United States.

The ideals of the founders of the Republic were ever before him, and to maintain or attain them he devoted the great work of his active life. And this work was based on a thorough knowledge of the history and laws of his country, which he had made his study throughout his long career. No man here, probably, better understood the basic principles of our system of government, more deeply entered into the spirit which underlies it, or has followed with greater minuteness the development of our institutions. Recognizing that the rock on which the Republic is built is the Constitution, he devoted a lifetime to an effort to prevent that foundation of our republican system from being undermined and the superstructure rendered unsafe.

It was not the mere lawyer, brilliant and learned as he was, that studied the Constitution and worked out its bearings on political policies and suggested legislation; it was the great statesman, who sought to have every act of Government so rest on a sure basis of truth that progress should be along the straight path leading to that condition of universal well-being which was the aim of the founders.

Thus patriotism and statesmanship made of GEORGE F. HOAR the leading constitutional debater of his time. His knowledge was so minute, so exact, that he was an authority on all constitutional questions, and was so recognized by the Congress of the United States. In the interpretation of the Constitution and important questions as to construction he had important and leading parts, and to his wisdom and legal acumen is in great part due the safe solution of many vexed and vital questions which would have led less competent men into labyrinths where dangers lie on every side.

But notwithstanding the eminence attained by GEORGE F. HOAR as a public man, his was a character of almost touching simplicity. He had no thought of his own power or attainments—perhaps did not realize their extent. The key-note is found in his own words:

> Down to the time I was admitted to the bar, and indeed for a year later, my dream and highest ambition were to spend my life as what is called an office lawyer, making deeds and giving advice in small transactions. I supposed I was absolutely without capacity for public speaking. I expected never to be married; perhaps to earn twelve or fifteen hundred dollars a year, which would enable me to have a room of my own in some quiet house, and to earn enough to collect rare books that could be had without much cost.

Surely a simple life is here set forth—a life in which vulgar ambition had no part in anticipation, as it had no part in fact. Wealth was not one of the objects which the young man was to strive for, and it was at no time the object of his efforts. That his ideas of life remained unchanged from the simple ones of early manhood was made clear to me when, a few years ago, in intimate private conversation, he stated that he had never had a desire to be rich; that all he wished for was enough to procure for himself and those he loved the necessaries of life, and to provide after his death for those dependent upon him.

This is essentially the same simple personal ambition as that of the young lawyer just entering upon his career. And in the midst of a busy, active, and exacting life he clung to his early ambition as to the possession of books, and the scholarly instincts which early manifested themselves were developed into literary powers of great brilliancy. The intervals in his active life which gave leisure were passed among the books, which were his friends, his advisers, and his helpers; and from the great minds of all ages he gathered that store of rich culture which gave charm to his speech and loftiness to his views. That library which he, as a young man, looked forward to as most desirable of possessions was the most valuable part of his estate when he died. He lived the life which was to him most attractive, a life devoted to high thought, high endeavor, and high attainment, and he has left behind him that which is of more worth than great riches.

The lesson—

He says in his memoirs—

> which I have learned in life, which is impressed on me daily, and more deeply as I grow old, is the lesson of good will and good hope. I believe that to-day is better than yesterday and that to-morrow will be better than to-day. I believe that in spite of so many errors and wrongs and even crimes my countrymen of all classes desire what is good, and not what is evil.

Well may we say of this noble character:

> The seas are quiet when the winds give o'er;
> So calm are we when passions are no more;
> For then we know how vain it was to boast
> Of fleeting things too certain to be lost.
> Clouds of affection from our younger eyes,
> Conceal that emptiness which age descries.
> The soul's dark cottage, battered and decayed,
> Lets in new light through chinks that time has made;
> Stronger by weakness, wiser men become,
> As they draw near to their eternal home.
> Leaving the old, both worlds at once they view,
> That stand upon the threshold of the new.

Address of Mr. Fairbanks, of Indiana

Mr. President: For more than a quarter of a century George Frisbie Hoar was one of the most distinguished figures in the United States Senate and one of the best-known men within the limits of the Republic. He honored the Senate and the Senate honored him. He cherished its best traditions and always upheld its dignity and power. He believed it among the wisest provisions of our great scheme of constitutional government. He felt that in the serenity of this Chamber the interests of the American people were secure; that it was one of the most potent safeguards of liberty among men. Its honor was very dear to him.

He had the utmost respect for the Senatorial office and looked with marked disfavor upon those who seemed to lack in the same high appreciation of its functions and its influence.

Senator Hoar was of a line of able Senators, men of unusual distinction and acknowledged capacity for public service. He came from a State which has commissioned her most gifted sons, her wisest and ablest statesmen, to represent her here. The roll is a distinguished and honorable one. Among the number were John Quincy Adams, Rufus Choate, Robert C. Winthrop, Daniel Webster, Charles Sumner, and Henry Wilson, men who commanded the nation's respect by the force of their genius; men who were well fitted to make a nation's laws. They were in harmony with the spirit of our institutions. They were profound believers in our system of popular government. They possessed in full measure the national confidence and the national admiration. Their lives and their services are a part of the priceless heritage of the Republic.

Senator HOAR was fit for the companionship of the greatest of these. The mantle which Massachusetts placed upon his shoulders was worthily worn by him for more than twenty-five years.

He entered the Senate at an interesting period in our history. Grave questions were in debate and great problems were soon to engage the enlightened and considerate judgment of the American people. He brought hither ample experience as a Member of the National House of Representatives, the reputation of an able lawyer, and the rich accomplishments of a man of letters. He entered this great arena exceptionally well equipped for its manifold duties and responsibilities.

Throughout his career here he addressed himself to his Senatorial duties with entire singleness of purpose. He brought hither no divided allegiance. Neither fear nor favor swerved him in the discharge of his official functions. He never for a moment lost sight of the vital fact that he was the servant of the people in a republican Government. His ideals were lofty, and he sought to carry them into the discharge of his public duties.

Senator HOAR was direct and candid. He had no hospitality for men who were otherwise. He was a brave and sincere man. He had the courage of his convictions and would maintain them against all comers. He was tenacious of his opinions, which had been wrought out by investigation and mature reflection, but whenever convinced that he was wrong he would yield to the better reason.

He was one of the founders of the Republican party and one of its wisest counselors throughout his long public career. He was a firm believer in the virtue of its tenets, a powerful supporter of its administration, yet he sometimes

differed with his party associates. His differences never led to their alienation, for they had unbounded faith in the absolute integrity of his purpose, in his entire veracity as a statesman, and in his unquenchable love of country; of his supreme confidence in the beneficence of the party to which he gave his early allegiance, and which conferred upon him signal honors.

When I came to the Senate he was endeavoring to aid in promoting an adjustment of the unfortunate conditions in the island of Cuba so as to avoid an infraction of the international peace. When war became inevitable, he was among the first to raise his voice in vindication of the course upon which we were about to enter. He justified an appeal to the sword in a speech of uncommon power. He supported every measure in that national crisis. When our arms triumphed and the treaty of Paris was laid before the Senate, he was one of the most forceful in opposition to its ratification. His judgment led him to challenge the policy of the President and of his party. He lost no opportunity to make manifest his opposition to the acquisition of the Philippine Islands, for he regarded their possession as violative of the principles of our republican institutions. All his powers were summoned in opposition to a step which, in the opinion of the Administration and his party, was commanded by the imperative voice of national duty. The divergence of views was sharp, yet he did not lose in the confidence or in the affection of those with whom he had so long been in political fellowship.

This subject was in debate before the American people when he was last elected to the Senate. His attitude upon it was not in harmony with the prevailing view of his party in the venerable Commonwealth he had so long served. Without a dissenting voice the Republicans of Massachusetts

returned him to his seat here. He was profoundly touched by this renewed manifestation of the confidence of his State, and especially by the fact that she thereby recognized his right to the exercise of an untrammeled judgment upon a question of great national significance. I know from his lips how deeply touched he was by this evidence of the regard of the Commonwealth whose approval he valued beyond all else.

During his entire service here there was no abatement of his interest in his Senatorial work. He was a diligent and discriminating student of all questions which engaged our attention, and sought in committee and upon the floor to promote those measures which he regarded most essential in the advancement of the public welfare. He was an investigator, a searcher after truth. His learning was vast, and he gave to the country the fullest benefit of it. For twenty years he was a member of the Committee on the Judiciary, and at the time of his death its chairman. No one during that period was more able and more diligent than he in considering the numerous and difficult legal and constitutional questions which engaged its attention.

Senator HOAR'S life was essentially devoted to the public welfare. He entered the National House of Representatives more than a generation before his death. When he entered the public service he practically abandoned the practice of the law. He left his chosen profession after he had become well established in it. He turned from its alluring prospects and its material rewards to the service of the State, with its inadequate pecuniary returns, because he believed it was his patriotic duty to do so. He did not seek the opportunity to serve his countrymen in the wide national theater where he so long wrought. The people sought him. Speaking of his professional career, he told me he had accumulated a reasonable

competency, and that during his public service he had reduced it until only a comparatively small sum remained. He was, nevertheless, eminently satisfied with the course he had pursued. His reward was the consciousness of service performed for his country and his Commonwealth. He believed that here was the field of his best service in the public interest, and he declined high public honors in other departments of the Government. Twice he declined the English mission, a position which he would have greatly adorned. There was in his opinion no more honorable place than the Senate and none better suited to his taste and his talents.

Senator HOAR was a forceful debater. He frequently participated in the discussions of the committee and the Senate. He was zealous in the espousal of his cause and "neither asked nor gave quarter." He brought to the consideration of all questions large experience and wide information. He sought to win the deliberate judgment of men; he cared little for mere applause. He was sober-minded, and addressed himself assiduously to the consciences and judgment of his countrymen. "The men to whom the American people gives its respect," said he, "and whom it is willing to trust in the great places of power are intelligent men of propriety, dignity, and sobriety."

Our friend died as he would have wished—with the harness on. To the last he was in the full possession of his intellectual faculties. He died full of years, full of honors—respected and loved everywhere. No stain rests upon his illustrious name. He awaited death with composure, as the just may do. After he had taken to his bed with an illness he thought temporary, he wrote me. He said the physicians told him that no one died of his ailment. He talked lightly of it, and his letter scintillated with that subtle wit so familiar to us.

When all that science and love could do had been done, and his recovery was impossible, our friend faced the future with uncomplaining lips. A few days before the end he said, "I believe I shall die this afternoon. I have done the best I could. I have always loved this town and its people." In the last serious moment his thought was of the people of his home, with whom he had been most closely associated and who never faltered in their allegiance to him.

Scholar, orator, patriot, statesman, colleague, friend, we reverently place upon the records of the Senate the tribute of our affection and admiration.

Address of Mr. Pettus, of Alabama

Mr. President: I desire also to say a few words on this occasion.

The great Senator from Massachusetts to whose memory we have met to pay tribute was better known to those who have spoken than to myself. They knew him longer; and they knew him and associated with him and learned to honor him as a scholar and as a lawyer. I have only known him here in the Senate as an earnest, eminent statesman; and here learned, in some degree, to appreciate his devotion to the great work he was selected to perform.

My first association with Senator Hoar commenced only eight years ago, when I was made a member of the Judiciary Committee, of which he was the chairman. And his great ability and extraordinary experience in Congress most naturally gave him the capacity as well as an inclination to govern.

He came of a family more distinguished for the number of great men than almost any other American stock; and it was impossible for him not to appreciate the fact of his descent from Roger Sherman, and his near connection with so many distinguished men descended from the same eminent patriot of the Revolution.

It sometimes happens in republics like ours that men affect to care nothing for their own ancestry, and even ridicule others who are not of the same disposition. But the American does not live who would not be proud of the fact if he could truthfully state that his ancestor was a signer of our Declaration of Independence, or served his country faithfully in our Revolutionary war. And such pride should be cultivated. It makes

patriots and heroes by stirring the ambition of young men to serve their country with all their power in peace or war, and to work so as to become well qualified for such service. It creates that spirit of high and heroic daring displayed by England's great admiral at Trafalgar, when he exclaimed: "Victory or Westminster Abbey!" and gained the greatest naval victory and a most honored place in Westminster Abbey on the same day.

You have in this Capitol a noble chamber, filling and to be filled with bronze and marble statues of great Americans. Why did you dedicate it to that use? To honor the dead, surely, but not merely to that end; it was also to fire the souls of generations living and to come, and to teach them that—

> Honest toil is holy service;
> Faithful work is prayer and praise;

and that no labor is too great, no danger too imminent, no endurance too long in the service of their country, if they aim to be among those honored for wise and faithful counsel or for brave and noble deeds.

The poet has said:

> Princes and lords may flourish or may fade;
> A breath can make them, as a breath has made.

But this is not true in our country. Here the real nobleman is made not by the breath of a king, but by his own work.

Senator HOAR no doubt inherited strong brain power, and he improved that power by constant, diligent work, and the two combined made him the eminent statesman he was. His brain power and work made him known to the people of his State when he was a young man, and they gave him full opportunity for obtaining distinction among the statesmen of the Union.

He was of the highest type of New England statesmen; and

he served his State faithfully and honestly in the National Legislature for nearly forty years, first in the House of Representatives and afterwards in the Senate, and continuously. For at each recurring election the people of Massachusetts said to him, "Well done, good and faithful servant!"

They knew him to be what has been called "the noblest work of God," and they knew his inherited brain force and his almost unequaled work, and they loved and honored him and were proud of him. And he loved them, and served them with a devotion and diligence never surpassed.

Address of Mr. Gorman, of Maryland

Mr. President: Again, within a week, we gather to pay tribute to one of the nation's great men gone to rest. This one differed in many respects from him whose memory we celebrated on last Saturday. He was more tolerant, more optimistic. His sympathies were wider and less deliberate. With learning carefully and richly stored, with philosophies mellowed by observation, with judgments shaped by charity and love, he was at once wise and kind, enlightened and indulgent, firm yet eager to excuse. His beliefs were builded on the rock of deep conviction. His standards were the growth of prayerful and conscientious analysis.

Equipped with a keen and penetrating intellect, he could make allowances for those less gifted.

A man of pure and stainless life, he could feel for the victims of temptation. Fixed in his own creed, he was ever ready to recognize the sincerity of those who preached a different faith.

It was George F. Hoar who said:

> If I were to select the man of all others with whom I have served in the Senate who seemed to me the most perfect example of the quality and character of the American Senator, I think it would be Edward C. Walthall, of Mississippi.

There is the nature and the measure of the man.

What a wonderful career was his! He saw the American Union grow from infancy to its perfected power and proportions. Almost the whole procession of its tragedies and tumults passed beneath his eye. Born before Andrew Jackson became President, he was a contemporary of, and a participant

in, all the great national crises which followed the Missouri Compromise of 1850.

Of every evolution that influenced the country's destiny he was a witness. In each of its most important dramas he was an actor. During his lifetime the gigantic problems, born with the Republic and for half a century threatening its very existence, were carried, if often through blood and terror and calamity, to permanent solutions.

He was a factor in those colossal equations which reconciled the incompatabilities of the States' rights and the Federal philosophies. He took part in the supreme perils of the slavery agitation, the stupendous civil war in which it culminated, and the crowning anxieties of that transition from chaos to ordered harmony which we familiarly describe as the period of reconstruction.

It may be said of him that he saw the nation emerge from its swaddling clothes and grow to the full measure of the raiment of maturity and empire. He lived to hail the realization of his patriotic dream—of the only passion he ever harbored in his loyal heart—the definite rehabilitation of our political and social structure.

He was throughout it all a man of infinite compassion, of comprehensive sympathies, of noble and unselfish impulse. He was a partisan without rancor, an antagonist without bitterness, a friend without reservations and conditions, a conqueror without vengeance, a loser without resentment. He passed with clean hands and unstained honor through temptations that shook the souls of smaller men. He gazed with pure, unclouded brow on carnivals of profligacy in which proud reputations were swept away and long lives of righteousness went out in degradation. His was a heart where charity abode always. He recognized the virtue of his

opponents; he never claimed perfection for himself or his coadjutors. He thought first of his country, of his patriotic obligations, and next of his party and his private welfare.

And his is a career, Mr. President, which the American youth may study in a spirit of reverence and emulation. It is the record of a brilliant and a noble life. It constitutes another of those glorious and beautiful traditions in which the Republic is already so fabulously rich. As long as men admire courage, self-sacrifice, devotion, high sense of duty, and patriotism attuned to martyrdom, so long will the memory of GEORGE F. HOAR be held in honor and affection.

Address of Mr. Depew, of New York

Mr. President: It is asserted by many writers that the Senate has seen its best days. They claim that the statesmen who made this body famous in the earlier periods of our history have not had any successors of equal merit or genius. The Senate does not change, but the questions which it must discuss and decide are new with each generation. There is a broad distinction between the elucidation and solving of problems which relate to the foundations and upbuilding of institutions, which are vital to their preservation and perpetuity, and the materialistic issues of finance, commercialism, and industrialism. The one arouses in the orator every faculty of his mind, every possibility of his imagination, every aspiration of his soul, and every emotion of his heart, while the others demand mainly the aptitude and experience of the college professor or the expert or student on subjects which affect the fortunes of the factory, the mill, the furnace, and the farm.

Webster could command the attention of listening Senates and of an anxious and expectant country with orations which have become part of our best literature and educate the youth of our schools on interpretations of the Constitution of the United States upon which depend the life or death of liberty. But Webster could hold only temporary interest and a narrow audience on tariff schedules upon wool or lumber, upon iron or cotton fabrics, or upon bimetallism, or the single standard. Hamilton and Jefferson and their antagonistic schools were creating with little precedent to guide them a form of government in which liberty and law would give the largest protection

to the individual citizen and maintain order and promote the greatest happiness of the mass. The one believed these results could best be obtained by centralized power, the other by its distribution among the States. There was then brought into play the loftiest creative and constructive genius which the world has known.

Webster, Clay, and Calhoun, the Senatorial triumvirate, who attained the zenith of Senatorial fame, made their reputations and that of this body upon the discussion of implied powers in the Constitution, affecting not only the nation's life but the destruction or perpetuity of human slavery. Webster, in that immortal speech, which educated millions of our youth to rush to arms when the Republic was in danger, preached from the text of "Liberty and union, now and forever, one and inseparable." Calhoun saw clearly the extinction of slavery with the growth of the country, and brought to the defense of the system resources, intellectual and logical, never equaled; while Clay postponed the inevitable through compromises, which were adopted because of his passionate pleas of marvelous eloquence for peace and unity. So in the acute stage of the controversy, which resulted in the civil war and ended in the enfranchisement of the slaves, Seward here and Lincoln on the platform, were appealing to that higher law of conscience, which uplifts the orator and audience to a spiritual contemplation of things material.

Happily the work of the founders in one age and the saviors in another has left to us mainly the development upon industrial lines of our country's resources and capabilities. We produced no heroes in over half a century, and yet when the war drums called the nation to arms, Grant, from the tannery, and Lee, from a humble position in the Army, rose to rank among the great captains of all the ages. Had the

civil war never occurred, Grant would have lived a peaceful and modest mercantile life in a country town of Illinois, and Lee would have passed the evening of his days in equal obscurity upon the retired list of the United States Army. Better, if the contest can be honorably averted, that a hero should never be known than that his discovery should be brought about by the calamities of war, the sacrifice of hundreds of thousands of lives, and the distress, demoralization, and devastation of civil strife.

We pay our tribute to-day to one who in any of these great periods would have stood beside the most famous; to one who, having the experience of a longer continuous term in Congress than any other citizen of Massachusetts ever enjoyed, testified on all occasions to the increasing power, growth, and beneficent influence of this body, and to the ever-advancing purity of American public life. His education and opportunities, his singularly intimate connection with the glorious past and the activities of the present, made him a unique and in a measure an isolated figure. He was educated under conditions and in surroundings which developed for the public service conscience, heart, and imagination. A lawyer of the first rank by heredity, study, and practice, he nevertheless approached public questions, not from the standpoint of the pleader, but the orator; not as an advocate with a brief, but as a patriot with a mission. He cast his first vote in 1847, when all the fire of his youth had been aroused by the slavery agitation. He came actively into politics the year after, when the Democratic party had divided into the Free Soil and slavery men, and the Whig party was split between the adherents of conscience or cotton. He began his career upon the platform and his preparation for the public service as a conscience Whig.

He saw the preparation, through the American or Know-Nothing party, in which Whigs and Democrats were acting together, of an organization upon broader lines. No one worked harder or more intelligently for the fusion of men of opposite creeds on industrial questions, but of one mind in opposition to slavery, into a National Constitutional Anti-slavery party. When that party came into existence in 1856 with a Presidential candidate and platform it had no more ardent sponsor for its faith and its future than Senator HOAR. A party whose fundamental creed was liberty for all men of every race and color appealed to the poetic and sentimental side of our friend and to the revolutionary ideas with which he was saturated. He came to believe that the worst which the Republican party might do would be more beneficial to the country than the best which its opponent was capable of. Though often differing from his party associates, his combat was to accomplish his purposes within the lines. He bowed to the will of the majority in his action, without surrendering his individual convictions as to the wisdom of the policy. He claimed, and with much reason, that the party had come after repeated trials, in many instances, to his way of thinking, and if those who went outside of the breastworks and lost all influence had remained with him his ideas would sooner have been adopted. We have here the explanation of the only criticism which has ever been passed upon his public acts. As in the Philippine and Panama questions, where his eloquence gave comfort to the opposition and grieved his friends, his votes supported the position of the majority and the policies of the Administration.

It was a high privilege to be a member of the Judiciary Committee of the Senate under his chairmanship. It was a court

presided over by a great lawyer. With courteous deference to the members, bills were sent to subcommittees, but when the subcommittee made its report they found that the questions had been exhaustively examined before by the chairman. The subcommittee which had perfunctorily done its work received, in the form of a polite statement and exposition of the case, the report which, if they had attended to their duties, they ought to have made. This work required not only vast legal knowledge and accurate judgment, but prodigious industry. It was that rare condition of mind where work becomes a habit, and with Senator HOAR, when the committee or the Senate or law or literature failed to give him occupation he would pass the idle hours in translating Thucydides or some other Greek author into English.

In the examination at the close of the last session, before the Committee on Privileges and Elections, of the president and apostles of the Mormon Church, himself a close student of all theologies and an eminent Unitarian, he was aroused by the claim of divine inspiration for the words and acts of the Mormon apostles. He drew from President Smith the statement that the action of his predecessor, President Woodruff, in reversing the doctrine of polygamy, heretofore held by the church, was directly inspired by God, and then made him testify that, though living under the inspiration of the presidency of the church, he was also living in direct violation of that revelation by remaining a polygamist. In the course of a long cross-examination he drew from Apostle Lyman statements of doctrine and beliefs, and subsequently contradictions of these positions, and then forced the apostle to swear that both the assertion and the contradiction were inspired by God.

At the age of 43 he was at the crossroads of his career. He had reached a position at the bar which placed within

his grasp the highest rewards of the profession of the law. The country was entering upon an era of speculation, of railroad building, the bankruptcy and reorganization of combinations of capital in the creation and consolidation of corporations, which called for the highest talents and the best equipment of lawyers. Questions as to the power of the General Government over corporations created by States and the powers of the States as to limitations and confiscations of corporations engaged in interstate commerce interested capital and labor, shippers and investors. The largest fees and fortunes ever known in the history of the practice of the law came to those who demonstrated their ability during these wonderful years. On the threshold of this temple of fortune and fame at the bar Mr. HOAR was elected to the United States Senate. He knew that he lived in a State whose traditions were to keep its public men who merited its confidence continuously in Congress. He felt that in the great questions still unsolved which had grown out of the civil war and the marvelous development of the country he could perform signal public service. His decision was made. The courts lost a great lawyer, the Senate gained a great statesman, and he lived and died a poor man.

I spent a memorable night with Mr. Gladstone when in a reminiscent mood, and with a masterful discrimination and eloquence he conversed upon the traditions of the House of Commons during the sixty years of his membership. As the stately procession of historic men and measures came into view, they were inspired by the speaker with all the characteristics and methods of their period. The changes which had occurred were detailed by a master who loved and revered the Commons. Senator HOAR would do this for the thirty-seven years of his activities in Congress, but with a wit and

humor which Gladstone lacked. He remembered the sarcasm, or the ridicule, or the epigram, or the witticism, or the illustration which had not only illumed but ended the debate, and the opposing debater.

We read with wonder of the nights when Samuel Johnson gathered about him Goldsmith and Burke and Reynolds and Garrick; and Boswell could make immortal volumes of their conversations, especially at this time when conversation is becoming a lost art, because the shop has invaded the drawing-room and the dinner table, and cards have captured society.

But Senator HOAR knew his favorites among the Greek and Roman classics, and the Bible and Shakespeare by heart. He could quote with a familiarity of frequent reading and retentive memory from the literature of the period of Queen Elizabeth and of Queen Anne, as well as the best of modern authors, and he was a member of that coterie which met weekly at Parker's, in Boston, where Longfellow, Hawthorne, Whittier, and others reproduced for our day, and in better form, the traditions of the Johnsonian Parliament, and where the Senator and his brother were the quickest and the wittiest of the crowd.

Whether in conversation or debate there never has been in the American Congress a man so richly cultured and with all his culture so completely at command.

The statesmen of the Revolution were with Senator HOAR living realities. The men of the present were passing figures, fading into obscurity, compared with these immortals. In a remarkable speech he said of the signers of the Declaration: "We, not they, are the shadows." On his father's side, his grandfather, two great-grandfathers, and three uncles were in Lincoln's company at Concord Bridge, and his mother was a daughter of Roger Sherman, whom he thought the wisest and ablest of the members of the Continental Congress. He was

the only person who signed all four of the great state papers to which the signatures of the Delegates of the different Colonies were attached: The Association of 1774, the Articles of Confederation, the Declaration of Independence, and the Constitution of the United States.

His mother remembered, as a little girl, sitting on Washington's knee and hearing him talk, and her sister, the mother of William M. Evarts, when a child of 11, opened the door for General Washington as he was leaving the house after his visit to her father, Roger Sherman. The General, with his stately courtesy, "put his hand on her head and said, 'My little lady, I wish you a better office.' She dropped a courtesy and answered, quick as lightning, 'Yes, sir; to let you in.'" He lived all his life in this atmosphere of his youth. The marvelous results of the working of the principles of the charter framed in the cabin of the *Mayflower* for "just and equal laws," and of the Declaration of Independence in the development of orderly liberty for his countrymen, convinced him that the same rights and privileges would end as happily, after trial, with the negroes of the South and the people of the Philippine Islands and of the Russian Empire. It was a matter with him, not of pride or boastfulness, but of sustaining power under the responsibilities that in every Congress from the beginning had been a representative of the Sherman clan. I was distantly related to him by the same tie, and he exhibited an elder brotherly and almost fatherly watchfulness and care for me when I entered the Senate.

His cousins, William M. Evarts and Roger Minot Sherman, were the foremost advocates of their periods, his father eminent at the bar, and his brother Attorney-General of the United States, and yet he would have been the equal of either as a lawyer if he had climbed for its leadership. It

has been the high privilege of his colleagues here to meet, converse, work, and debate with a Mayflower Puritan, possessed of all the culture and learning of the twentieth century, but with the virtues, the prejudices, the likes and dislikes, the vigor and courage of the Pilgrim Fathers, neither softened nor weakened by the looseness of creeds nor the luxury of living of to-day. As our friend the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Lodge] said in his most discriminating and eloquent eulogy—the best, I think, I have ever heard as a tribute of an associate and friend—Senator HOAR would have died like a martyr for his principles. In 1850 he delivered a speech in Mechanics' Hall, at Worcester, upon the evils of slavery and the crime of its extension into the Territories, which attracted general attention and was widely published. Fifty-four years afterwards he was again before an audience in Mechanics' Hall, composed of the children and grandchildren of the first.

The dread summons had then come to him, and he had but few days to live. The old warrior spoke with the fire of his early manhood, but his message to his neighbors and countrymen, after a half century, was not of war, as before, but of peace, love, and triumph. The progress and development of the Republic during these fifty years of liberty was his theme. He looked joyously upon the past and present and was full of hope and confidence for the future. He had finished his work and performed a great part in great events of great moment for his country and humanity, and he left to his contemporaries and posterity the brilliant example of a life nobly lived.

Address of Mr. McComas, of Maryland

Mr. President: The Senate dedicated this day to the memory of a great Senator. Massachusetts sent the younger Adams, Webster, Choate, and Sumner, and later sent George Frisbie Hoar to the greatest legislative body in the world. Those great names belong to the whole country, and Senator Hoar's fame forever associates his name with that illustrious company. He, too, has become an historic figure. His death robs Massachusetts of her foremost citizen and takes away from the nation its highest examplar of the scholar and statesman. Without distinction of party, creed, or color, the whole people lament their great loss.

This Senate Chamber was the place of his achievement and renown during a third of a century. In the last year of his life he wrote: "I had an infinite longing for my home and my profession and my library. But the fates sent me to the Senate, and have kept me there, until I am now the man longest in continuous legislative service in this country, and have served in the United States Senate longer than any other man who has represented Massachusetts." He came to the House in 1869. He was promoted to the Senate eight years later, and served until his death in 1904. At the centennial celebration of the establishment of the seat of government at Washington, which occurred in the first year of this new century, he spoke eloquently of the leading statesmen of the last century, and especially of those who were his contemporaries; and his closing words proved personally prophetic. "Their work," he said, "is almost done. They seem to

survive for a brief period only that the new century may clasp hands with the old, and that they may bring to the future the benediction of the past."

After a period all too brief he, too, passed away, a veteran statesman whose life work was done.

In those last years, unmindful of his age, with unfailing vigor, with unrivaled brilliancy of speech, inspired by a love of liberty which was inbred, he waged continuous warfare upon the Administration's Philippine policy, which has been approved by the country, and, as I believe, by its results. Those of us who differed with Senator HOAR about that great issue were compelled to admire his lofty eloquence, his keen wit and repartee, his learning, his resourcefulness, his high ideals, his courage, and his loyalty to his convictions. He obeyed his conscience in scorn of consequence.

A popular and long-trusted leader of his party in the Senate, he suffered with fortitude the pain of separation from the associates of a lifetime, because he believed his party had departed from the path of Sumner and Lincoln.

It may be there is something in the New England environment to account for the unbroken line of New England statesmen, now gone, who have successively in each generation opposed every expansion of the territory of the Republic. It is fortunate for the country, as I believe, that the most eminent living statesmen of New England have been in sympathy with the whole country in its latest territorial expansions, have been potential in its beginnings, its development, and its successes.

Senator HOAR was the last of the conspicuous leaders who joined in the great movement that abolished slavery. To him the Republican party was the last child of freedom. In one of the most valuable and most charming autobiographies

of modern times, he tells us, "I became of age at just about the time when the Free Soil party, which was the Republican party in another form, was born. In a very humble capacity I stood by its cradle. It awakened in my heart in early youth all the enthusiasm of which my nature was capable, an enthusiasm which from that day to this has never grown cold. No political party in history was ever formed for objects so great and noble. And no political party in history was ever so great in its accomplishment for liberty, progress, and law."

The Senator voices thus the Puritan sentiment of his great State. He loved the Puritans and he loved his State. His family name through seven generations belongs to the list of Massachusetts worthies. Some of his ancestors were illustrious Americans. Said he: "I am descended from the early Puritans of Massachusetts in every line of descent." It is not strange that the sense of justice and of liberty in Senator HOAR instinctively opposed in a material age the selfishness of commercialism. Again and again he offered moral and poetic protest against the materialistic standards of our day.

He defended the right of asylum of the Chinese upon our soil. He espoused the cause of the insurgent Filipinos because of his concern for their liberties and because he feared our possession of the Philippine Archipelago meant its commercial exploitation. He was at all times solicitous for the welfare of our Indian wards. He was the ever-ready champion of the colored race, their sure friend in their helplessness, their sympathizer in their advancement. It seemed to me that Senator HOAR was incapable of prejudice against man or woman, race or creed.

The product of Concord and of Harvard, the friend of Emerson, the great Senator was essentially a liberal in faith

and opinion. He fought religious prejudice. He urged his Protestant countrymen not to forget that the religious persecution of which they cherished the bitter memory was the result of the spirit of the age, and not of one form of religious faith. A year ago in the Senate, in the speech to which the distinguished Senator from New York [Mr. Depew] has so recently and so eloquently made reference, he spoke of Charles Carroll, the last of the signers. Said Senator HOAR: "Charles Carroll was a devoted Catholic. He belonged to that church which preserved for mankind religion, learning, literature, and law through the gloomy centuries known as the Dark Ages. Yet it is the only denomination of Christians against which anything of theological bitterness or bigotry seems to have survived amid the liberality of our enlightened day."

To weigh the career of a great Senator by the statutes associated with his name is to weigh his merits by the apothecary's scales. We may not recall Senator HOAR'S paternity of the Presidential succession act or his part in fashioning the bankruptcy law, or the antitrust law, or his share in framing or amending a hundred important measures. We can never forget his love of country, which was a passion, the many laborious inspiring years he devoted to his country's service, his great intellectual powers, his learning, his culture, his profound knowledge of his country's history, his oratory, his lofty character, his pure and noble life.

Senator HOAR was the best example of the scholar in public life. He was the most scholarly statesman; he loved learning; he loved books. His long experience in great affairs, his keen habit of observation, saved him from overestimating the value of books, yet it was ever a delight to hear him talk about books. When he tells us of days spent in London in examining precious old books and rare editions, he adds: "The

experience was like having in my hands the costliest rubies and diamonds."

Machiavelli, of such sinister renown, and our great American Senator, of such high mind and stainless life, were as wide apart as the centuries which separate their careers. But Senator HOAR at Worcester might have written a letter to a friend very like that in which Machiavelli gives a friend of his a picture of himself and of his daily life at San Casciano: "But when evening falls I go home and enter my writing room. On the threshold I put off my country habit, and array myself in royal courtly garments. Thus worthily attired I make my entrance into the ancient courts of the men of old, where they receive me with love, and where I feed upon that food which only is my own and for which I was born. I feel no shame in conversing with them and asking them the reason of their actions. They, moved by their humanity, make answer; for four hours' space I feel no annoyance, forget all care; poverty can not frighten nor death appall me. I am carried away to their society."

In like glorious company during his long and laborious life Senator HOAR found solace and delight. He shared that ecstasy. It was therefore a characteristic utterance when he said: "If one were now to place in my hands, as a gift, a million of dollars, I doubt whether it would produce in me any unusual emotion."

I have carefully observed the Senate for twenty-odd years. It is my belief that there are usually comparatively few rich men among its members, and those often work hardest. If they are rich they do not forget to toil terribly. Most of its members are usually men of modest income, who might have gained riches in private station. Some are poor men. It is well with the Republic while this remains true of this Senate.

It is well that near the close of his long career Senator HOAR, in proud humility, wrote, "during all this time I have never been able to hire a house in Washington. My wife and I have experienced the varying fortune of Washington boarding houses, sometimes very comfortable, and a good deal of the time living in a fashion to which no mechanic earning two dollars a day would subject his household." The consolations he sorely needed he found in higher things.

In this material age, when the pursuit of money is so eager, so general, and so often successful, the memory of the life of our great Senator, as we now look back upon it, comes upon a people struggling for great accumulation, with that "unrest which men miscall delight," like a benediction. "Tenui musam meditamur avena."

That noble life has ended, and when we sum up what he has done, when we see how important, how useful, how varied, has been the work of his life, we exult while we lament. Scholar, statesman, patriot, poor in worldly fortune, he accepted and fulfilled a vow of poverty, to give the best years of his life to his country, and yet he died one of the richest of men in treasures that are priceless.

Address of Mr. Crane, of Massachusetts

Mr. President: I can not hope to add anything to the eloquent and heartfelt tributes which have just been paid to the memory of the Hon. George Frisbie Hoar by those who have been so long associated with him in public life. Such long and intimate association has enabled them to speak truthfully and convincingly of his great ability, his ripe scholarship, his exalted patriotism, his broad statesmanship, and the great value of his services in the Congress of the United States. When it became known that his life was ended the people of his State were touched by the messages of love and sympathy which came from all sections of our country, and they will deeply appreciate the words of sincere affection, respect, and admiration spoken here to-day by his fellow-Senators.

The people of Massachusetts had faith in Senator Hoar. They knew that his ideals were high, that he was always actuated by a sense of duty, that his sole aim was to do what he believed to be right. He always served them with absolute fidelity. Not for one moment during his long career did he lose their confidence. They never questioned his devotion to principle.

It has been truthfully said that no man was nearer to the great heart of Massachusetts than Senator Hoar. Throughout our Commonwealth there is a deep sense of personal loss. The sorrow is genuine. Grief at his death, however, is not at all restricted to party or State. You all know how he loved his home and his State, with what pride and affection he

always referred to his beloved Massachusetts, but he believed that the man who loves his household and his kindred and his town and his State best will love his country best, and his life was given not to his home and his State alone, but to his country.

One of the characteristics which made Senator HOAR so much respected and beloved was his freedom from race or creed prejudice. With all his might he hated bigotry and intolerance. Narrowness and petty prejudice were abhorrent to him, and he never hesitated to denounce them. It is not surprising, therefore, that his death has been recognized by all citizens, regardless of race or religion or politics, as a national calamity.

Senator HOAR had not only a great brain but a great heart. His sympathies were world-wide, and he was recognized as a friend of the oppressed, not only in his own country but throughout the world. Injustice and tyranny wherever found excited his deepest indignation, and his heart went out to all peoples struggling for liberty and independence.

To-day there is mourning, deep and sincere, but we can even now rejoice because of the record he has made. It is without stain. He was one of those who served his fellow-men, and the world is happier and better because he has lived in it. We rejoice because during all of his long life he was true to the highest standards. We are thankful for his brave, pure, and noble life, for it will be an inspiration to his countrymen during all the years that are to come.

Mr. President, I ask for the adoption of the resolution I send to the desk.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The resolution submitted by the junior Senator from Massachusetts will be read.

The Secretary read the resolution, as follows:

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect to the deceased the Senate do now adjourn.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution was unanimously agreed to; and the Senate (at 4 o'clock and 30 minutes p. m.) adjourned until Monday, January 30, 1905, at 12 o'clock meridian.

PROCEEDINGS IN THE HOUSE

DECEMBER 5, 1904.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Parkinson, its reading clerk, announced that the Senate had passed the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow of the death of the Hon. GEORGE F. HOAR, late a Senator from the State of Massachusetts.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate a copy of these resolutions to the House of Representatives.

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect to the memory of the two Senators whose deaths have just been announced the Senate do now adjourn.

DEATH OF SENATOR HOAR.

Mr. GILLETT, of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, it is my painful duty, representing the Massachusetts delegation, to make official announcement to the House of the death of Senator GEORGE FRISBIE HOAR, at his home in Worcester, Mass., on the 30th of September last.

The details of his long illness were doubtless familiar to you all, and I have no doubt that in all parts of the country you sympathized with the people of Massachusetts in the loss of their distinguished lawyer, scholar, orator, statesman, patriot, and philanthropist. Precedent does not permit now any attempt to express our feelings of sorrow at his death or pride in his life, but at a fitting time we shall ask that the House set aside a day for the consideration of his character and his public

services. I move the adoption now of the resolution which I send to the Clerk's desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That the House has heard with profound sorrow of the death of the Hon. GEORGE FRISBIE HOAR, a Senator of the United States from the State of Massachusetts.

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect to the memories of the late Senators QUAY and HOAR the House do now adjourn.

Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate and transmit a copy thereof to the families of the deceased Senators.

The resolution was agreed to; and accordingly (at 12 o'clock and 52 minutes) the House adjourned until to-morrow at 12 o'clock noon.

JANUARY 30, 1905.

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES ON THE LATE SENATOR GEORGE FRISBIE HOAR.

Mr. LOVERING. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that Sunday, February 12, at 12 o'clock, be set apart for paying tribute to the Hon. GEORGE FRISBIE HOAR, late United States Senator from Massachusetts.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Massachusetts asks unanimous consent that Sunday, the 12th of February, at 12 o'clock, be set apart for memorial services to the late Senator HOAR of Massachusetts. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none. Of course, by unanimous consent the House meets on Sunday; that is implied in the request.

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

SUNDAY, *February 12, 1905.*

The House met at 12 o'clock m.

Mr. William J. Browning, Chief Clerk, announced that the Speaker had designated Hon. George P. Lawrence as Speaker pro tempore for this day.

The Chaplain, the Rev. Henry N. Couden, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Eternal Spirit, God, our heavenly Father, in response to a beautiful and long-established custom, we are assembled here to-day in memory of one who served his country long and well in both branches of the National Congress, and who, though dead, still lives in the hearts of his countrymen; whose lips, though hushed, still speak in eloquence for the downtrodden and oppressed; whose heart, though still, yet throbs in the life of his nation. A scholar, a patriot, a statesman, broad in his conceptions, firm in his convictions, with unbounded faith in God and man. We honor him for what he did, and yet more for what he was. Gentle, sweet, tender in his home, revered by his friends, beloved by his neighbors, honored by his fellow-citizens. We are not here to mourn, though he will be missed by those near and dear to him, by his friends, and in the councils of the nation; but rather let us rejoice that he lived and wrought and left behind him the memory of a character worthy of all emulation. Peace to his ashes and youth to his soul, which we dare to hope sweeps on in unbroken continuity to larger conquests and greater victories in the realms of eternal day.

Inspire the minds and hearts of those who shall speak here to-day of his deeds and character, and God grant that, departing, we shall leave the world a little better that we have lived and wrought; and everlasting praise be Thine, through Jesus Christ, our Lord. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

Mr. LOVERING. Mr. Speaker, I offer the following resolutions.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Massachusetts offers the following resolutions, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That, in pursuance of the special order heretofore adopted, the House proceed to pay tribute to the memory of Hon. GEORGE FRISBIE HOAR, late a Senator from the State of Massachusetts.

Resolved, That as a particular mark of respect to the memory of the deceased, and in recognition of his eminent abilities as a faithful and distinguished public servant, the House, at the conclusion of the memorial proceedings of this day, shall stand adjourned.

Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate.

Resolved, That the Clerk be, and is hereby, instructed to send a copy of these resolutions to the family of the deceased.

The question was taken; and the resolutions were unanimously agreed to.

Address of Mr. Lovering, of Massachusetts

Mr. Speaker: Some men there are who have reached a great age and yet have lived but half lives. Senator George Frisbie Hoar lived a full and complete life in the best sense.

He touched the world at all points, and drew inspiration from every worthy source.

Every waking hour found him occupied, if not in absorbing the riches of all knowledge, then in working out the great problems of civil government.

Great men make a great nation, and no nation is greater than the men who make it.

No one realized this better than Senator Hoar, and so, while modestly filling his own niche, he points with peculiar acumen and appreciation to the great men and statesmen who have controlled the destinies of nations, and especially of our own.

The men and women whom he met were all the world to him. He cherished them for the good that was in them. That they played so important a part in his life is shown by the fact that in his autobiography he mentioned not less than a thousand men and women whom he had either met and known or whose lives he had studied and admired.

American liberty was dear to him, and he would have everyone enjoy it.

He abhorred manacles, whether upon himself or his fellowmen; whether they fettered his limbs or his conscience, his body or his soul.

He could not have lived in Russia. He might have died in Siberia. At all events, had his lot been cast in a country

without a constitution, his life would have been given to bringing the people to the enjoyment of a free government.

Mr. HOAR was a master of language. Words were his willing slaves and fell into line at his command, whether to overthrow an opponent in debate, to point an argument in court, or to illuminate a beautiful page in history.

If occasion required, he could lash with sarcasm. It smarted for a time, but it never blistered.

To see Senator HOAR among his books in his own library was to see him at his best and in his happiest frame of mind. His books were precious to him, and while he valued them for their contents he would almost caress them like children in his fondness for them.

Mr. HOAR was an enthusiastic and intelligent traveler. Historical places had for him an infinite charm, and he sought them out with a direct and unerring instinct.

I remember meeting him once in the old part of London. Not in Temple Bar, not in Westminster, nor the Tower, where American travelers are wont to frequent, but down in the narrow lanes by Crosby House and in the old haunts of the early kings.

For hours we wandered about in out-of-the-way places. He was entirely at home, and pointed out to me spots of historical and literary interest of which I had never dreamed. He found his way about through the byways and obscure passages like a professional cicerone.

Senator HOAR was early at the cradle of the Republican party. He stood as one of its sponsors and never forgot his vow to bring it to a full and complete confirmation.

The party did not always follow his lead; it did not always do as he would have it do; but he never forsook it, and this is all the more remarkable because he was a man of such

intense feelings and strong convictions. He was the best exponent we have ever seen of a party man.

I could easily fall into a personal and reminiscent vein, for I knew Senator HOAR a large part of my life. It was he who first suggested to me the idea of becoming a Member of this House, and all through my term of service he has been most encouraging and helpful.

I have not always agreed with him, but so considerate was he that in differing from him I did not forfeit his respect nor lose his friendship.

Probably one of the most trying periods in his public life was during the debate and ratification of the Spanish treaty.

The treaty was ratified by the Senate February 6, 1899, late in the afternoon, and it so happened that I went over to the Senate next morning to ask Senator HOAR to get the appropriation in the river and harbor bill increased for Plymouth Harbor.

A great storm had washed away a mile of breakwater, and I said to him that there was danger of Plymouth Rock being washed away. He replied very seriously, and almost with tears in his eyes, "Mr. Lovering, Plymouth Rock was washed away yesterday afternoon at 4 o'clock."

I would not refer to this chapter in his history were it not that while differing from him I had the utmost respect for his attitude upon the question, and as it was the subject of a brief correspondence between us at the time and that his letter may be on record, I take this occasion to read two letters that passed between us.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., February 3, 1899.

MY DEAR SENATOR: I trust that you are alive to the great responsibility you are taking upon yourself in defeating the treaty.

If a single drop of American blood is shed, will it not bring the bitter execration of the American people upon your head, to say nothing of the misery that will follow an inevitable business panic?

Can it be that you, and almost you alone, of all the Republicans in the Senate are right and they are wrong? Can it be that the spirit of patriotism has gone out of two-thirds of your peers and rests only in one-third, and that third made up of the enemies of the Administration and the party of your life?

You do not deplore the situation in the Philippines more than I do. I am opposed to imperialism, I am opposed to expansion, but believe that greater troubles and greater sorrows await our country from the defeat of the treaty than from its ratification.

Nothing but my lifelong admiration for you, amounting almost to idolatry, gives me the right to speak to you like this.

It may be said that the question is greater than any party, but is it greater than the people? I believe that the people throughout the country would, by an overwhelming majority, vote to ratify the treaty.

I remain, yours, very sincerely,

WM. C. LOVERING.

HON. GEORGE F. HOAR,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
UNITED STATES SENATE,
Washington, D. C., February 3, 1899.

MY DEAR SIR: I feel deeply the responsibility that rests upon me. But I must do my duty as God gives me to see it. He never gave me to see anything more clearly since I stood with the little band of Free Soilers in my youth, and again with the little band of men who resisted the Know-Nothing craze in 1854, than I see my duty in this matter. I do not think you know how many good and brave men in Massachusetts, earnest Republicans, zealous party workers, young men and old, are with me on this question. I know, too, how many men in the Senate who feel constrained by mere party fidelity or a desire to stand by the President to vote for the treaty loathe and abhor it as much as I do. But my course was taken without knowing who would stand by me or who would differ from me, and I must pursue it; and it does not depend in the least upon majorities or minorities, but upon justice and righteousness.

This treaty undertakes to buy the sovereignty over 10,000,000 human beings and pay for it in money. I have in my veins the blood of a revered ancestor who was one of the five men who presented the immortal Declaration of Independence to the assembly which adopted it. I will not consent to disgrace my lineage by trampling upon it now. I think peace will come to us sooner if the treaty be rejected than if it be ratified. But better years of business depression, better even years of bloodshed, than the infamy of such a transaction.

You ask me if the question is greater than the people. Your question is exactly that which some of our worthy but timid business men used to put to Charles Sumner before the war. Perhaps you can answer it for yourself by first answering the questions—

Whether righteousness be greater than the people.

Whether truth be greater than the people.

Whether justice be greater than the people.

Whether freedom be greater than the people.

It is certainly greater than any one party, or any one generation.

Now, my friend, I would like to ask you to consider a question: You and I have taken a solemn oath to support the Constitution. The Constitution provides that no treaty shall be adopted without the approval, or, to use the precise phrase of the Constitution, the "advice and consent of the Senate." In this advice the consent of two-thirds of the Senate must concur. Now, do you think that I ought, when considerably more than two-thirds of the Senate do not concur, and contrary to my sense of what is for the public interest, to vote for the treaty because of my party, or because the majority of the people approve it? I do not, in fact, believe that a majority of the American people approve it, and I do not think that a majority of my own party will a great while. But that is not material to this particular question. Am I bound by the Constitution and my oath to vote upon the merits of the question as I see it, or have I a right, violating my oath and violating the Constitution, to surrender my opinion to that of a majority of the party, and act against it? When you cast a vote in the House of Representatives under such a constraint you will be a very different man from the Mr. Lovering I have so long known and honored.

I am, with high regard, faithfully yours,

GEO. F. HOAR.

Hon. WILLIAM C. LOVERING.

This letter is submitted without comment, excepting to say that as it gives a true insight into the character of a great man it should be published. It is entirely to his credit and in keeping with a perfectly consistent life.

When next Massachusetts shall be asked to place a statue of one of her distinguished men in the National Capitol she can not pay a higher tribute to herself than by selecting the late Senator HOAR for that honor.

Address of Mr. Gillett, of Massachusetts

Mr. Speaker: It was appropriate that the historical oration upon the events and achievements of Mr. Hoar's life should have been delivered in the Senate, the scene of his most conspicuous public service and the body with which his name and fame will ever be associated; but he was also a prominent and useful Member of this House in his earlier manhood, and it is appropriate that we, too, should express our appreciation and our sorrow, although the superb eulogy by Senator Lodge has portrayed his characteristics and achievements with a fidelity and beauty and completeness that makes further speech superfluous.

Yet I feel that I must add a word testifying to my personal admiration and affection. With us of a younger generation his intercourse was so kindly and helpful, he was so free from assumption or arrogance, and his conversation was always so entertaining and instructive, abounding in reminiscences of great men and great events, that our personal loss is irreparable.

When a great man dies our natural query is, Wherein lay his greatness, where was the hiding of his power? I think we will all agree that Mr. Hoar's success was no result of chance; that it was not any accident that wafted him to eminence. In whatever sphere of life he had been born he would have made himself a man of mark. He was endowed with that restless, questioning, indomitable energy which examines and investigates everything, which would be an engine powerful enough to drive any man to some success, and which when applied as motive force behind his clear,

strong, penetrating intellect propelled it unerringly through all obstacles and attained great results.

The over-modest statement of Daniel Webster that he was conscious of no genius except a genius for hard work was more true of Mr. HOAR. Without great natural endowments he could never have won his brilliant triumphs, but he spared no toil in arriving at his conclusions or defending them, and so in his later years his mind was an arsenal full of rich spoils from which he could draw on any occasion. His life well illustrates the verse—

> The heights by great men reached and kept
> Were not attained by sudden flight,
> But they while their companions slept
> Were toiling upward in the night.

Every opinion he formed was the result of thorough reflection and research. To satisfy his own Yankee inquisitiveness he must go to the bottom of every question, and it is characteristic that he should have said near the close of his life that he was ready to debate and defend any position he had ever taken with any opponent of sufficient importance. Such thoroughness, combined with such intellectual power, would be sure to make him a leader of men, and so it is natural that we find him prominent even in his short service in this House.

One of his most attractive characteristics was the air of culture and scholarship which pervaded all his thought and work. We hear much discussion in these days of the value of a college education, whether a practical business experience is not better, whether the scholar in politics is not a failure. We hear the boast for men high in public service that they are not pedants or theorists; that they are men of the people, practical politicians, good workers if not good speakers, able to accomplish results if not to convince or please an audience. All

honor to the men who by their own training and force have made their way to power. But I do not doubt that a broad culture would have made them more useful. Certainly Mr. HOAR'S career singularly illustrated the assistance education may give. His retentive memory held ever at hand stores of material on which he could draw not only to illustrate his speeches and fill them with classical allusions which so charm and stimulate the appreciative hearer, but which also enabled him to repel assaults and discomfit opponents. Culture tends, perhaps, to make a man more theoretical and less practical, because it teaches him to search out fundamental principles and base his action not on momentary popularity but eternal right. It lifts the compass by which he guides his life out of the conflicting currents raging about him into a serener and clearer atmosphere; but if it makes him at times at odds with the world, he is more sure in the long run to be consistent, to be right, and to be approved, as was Senator HOAR.

In the high literary finish which marked his work in the Senate Mr. HOAR was but following Massachusetts precedents. From the first the men who have represented our State and greatly influenced our national history, the men we look back upon with pride and gratitude, have exemplified culture as well as force. As you look through the long line of distinguished men who have established the standard for a Massachusetts Senator, from Adams down through Webster, Choate, and Everett and Sumner to HOAR and Lodge, you can but feel a thrill of pride in their achievement and recognize admiringly not only the native power, but the scholarship, the assiduous art and labor, which has made their works American classics; and you can but wonder whether the practical statesman of to-day, with all his astuteness and skill in producing results,

does not belong to a lesser type and measure up to a lower standard than those giants of the past.

At all events, we can rest assured that Senator HOAR felt the inspiration of his great predecessors; that he strove nobly on their exalted plane; that he condescended to nothing of which they would be ashamed; that he, too, left models of clear thought and glowing eloquence, and Massachusetts may well feel content that he, her latest son, has kept alive her old traditions of power and importance, has held high her old standards of character and ability and scholarship and eloquence, and has added another to that long list of illustrious statesmen who, by their bearing in the Senate Chamber, have brought glory and influence to their proud Commonwealth and have affected the current of the nation's history.

Address of Mr. Lawrence, of Massachusetts

Mr. Speaker: Senator Hoar has gone. His great work here is finished. With no thought of self he gave the best that was in him to the State. During a long life there had been but one thought—to serve his country with all his strength and with all his ability. His was in very truth a consecrated service. And that life of self-sacrifice is appreciated. With one voice the American people are saying, "Well done, good and faithful servant." On every hand there is sincere expression of a sense of personal loss. Men of every political faith are bearing testimony to his great abilities, to the purity of his life and the nobility of his character.

Others have sketched in detail the story of his life. They have told of his ancestry; of his boyhood at Concord and his life at Harvard; of his success at the bar; of the part he bore in the great battle against human slavery; of his service in the House of Representatives, and of his great career in the Senate. They have spoken of his unselfish and untiring industry, his profound learning, his eloquence, and his remarkable influence in shaping legislation and in the solution of the difficult problems which have confronted the American people. As I listened to the words of his associates in the Senate I was impressed, as all must have been, with their absolute sincerity. They loved and respected Senator Hoar because daily service with him had shown them that he was always loyal, always true to the highest ideals, always striving for the welfare of his country.

He was one of the founders of the Republican party. He has said that no political party in history was ever formed for

objects so great and noble, and that no political party in history was ever so great in its accomplishment for liberty, progress, and law. But notwithstanding his loyalty to party (a loyalty which lasted until the end) he was true to his own convictions of right and wrong, and when he believed his party to be wrong opposed it with all his energy and ability. Never did he oppose any policy with greater force and eloquence than that of his party with reference to the Philippine Islands. That in taking this position he was following the dictates of his conscience was never questioned by the Republicans of Massachusetts. He would not have been the Senator whom they trusted so long and implicitly had he ever favored a party policy which he believed to be wrong. There was no reason to fear that they would desert him for his devotion to principle. Genuine and honest independence never lost him their support.

His love of country has been spoken of as a passion, as an intense and mastering emotion. Indeed, he once defined love of country to be the highest and purest of human affections, the master passion of the loftiest natures. A man of intense convictions, of undoubted loyalty to his party and his State, his object was ever his whole country. He sought the progress and development of every State, and was never moved by petty sectionalism.

This nation is a composite—

He said—

It is made up of many streams. The quality, hope, and destiny of our land are expressed in the phrase of our fathers, E pluribus unum—of many, one; of many States, one nation; of many races, one people; of many creeds, one faith; of many bended knees, one family of God.

He was very happy in the thought that the bitter feeling growing out of the great conflict of the civil war was passing

away, that the sections were again being bound together by the ties of citizenship. He tried to teach the lesson that the North and the South are indispensable to each other; that it is only through a genuine and indissoluble union that the United States can fulfill its mighty destiny and become a power for good among the nations of the earth. He had an abiding faith that however separated the States had become by differences they would at last surely be drawn together by a common love of liberty and a common faith in God. Each passing year is proving that such faith was justified. He had a strong sense of justice, and did not permit his own positive convictions to blind him to the honest and worthy motives which actuated those who differed with him. To be faithful to the truth as he saw it was his motive, and he freely conceded to opponents equal honesty of purpose. And from none have come more generous words of appreciation and affection for GEORGE FRISBIE HOAR than have been spoken by those who fought for the lost cause. He is mourned to-day not alone by the people of the North. In the eloquent words of Senator Daniel, of Virginia, "All the States bow their heads beside his tomb. Together they bind their wreaths of honor and affection and lay them encircled there."

A sincere Christian, he loved to teach peace, good will, brotherly kindness, and charity to all men. He was one of those who are ever striving to bring in the Kingdom of God. That the power which created this world of ours is conscious and beneficent was to him a supreme certainty, and upon that foundation rested his hope of immortality. To his mind things about which Christians differ are in the main nonessential. He could, therefore, as he said, have "no patience with the spirit which would excite religious strife. It is as much out of place

as the witchcraft delusion or the fires of Smithfield." However devoted men might be to a sect or denomination, he would have them work together in the fellowship of the church universal.

I can not close without referring to his unfailing kindness, courtesy, and helpfulness to the younger men who were associated with him. To them he was a personal friend, and their loss is a personal one. They were always sure of a pleasant smile and a kindly greeting from him. An indefatigable worker, he was never too busy to aid them in any way that he could, to give them the benefit of his long experience, and to help them over the rough places by wise suggestions. His counsel was encouraging and inspiring. Companionship with him brought good cheer. The world seemed brighter and life had more of promise and hope.

Senator HOAR never sought office. His ambition was to continue his successful career at the bar. He loved his home and his books and his profession. He preferred the comforts and opportunities of private life to any distinction which might come from public life. But the people called him, and a request from them was a command. His long service involved personal sacrifice, but he had an ample and satisfying reward in the consciousness of work well done and in the unbounded confidence of an appreciative constituency.

A great man has passed away, but the results of his work will live. Memories of him will bring good cheer and encouragement to all who love their country and seek to be of service to their fellow-citizens. We should not think of him as dead. Indeed—

> There are no dead; we fall asleep,
> To waken where they never weep.
> We close our eyes to pain and sin,
> Our breath ebbs out, but life flows in.

Mr. GILLETT, of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, my colleague, Mr. McCall, has been confined to his home by illness for several days and has asked me to express to the House his extreme regret at not being present to-day to pay his tribute to the memory of Senator HOAR, for whom he cherished a deep friendship, admiration, and affection.

Address of Mr. Thayer, of Massachusetts

Mr Speaker: In the death of Senator Hoar the nation has lost one of its greatest statesmen and Massachusetts one of her first citizens. He was spared to a ripe old age, retaining his faculties and activities unimpaired till near the end. On the 30th day of September, 1904, he passed away at his home in Worcester, surrounded by his family and friends. He had been in failing health but a short time before his death. He remained in attendance upon his duties in the Senate until the close of the second session of the Fifty-eighth Congress. Reconciled and with serene composure, awaiting the final dissolution, he became the center of a nation's love, and received, as he justly merited, the benedictions of a grateful people. With Christian resignation he bowed to the divine decree.

The announcement of his death caused general mourning by all the citizens of his beloved State, of all parties, classes, and conditions of men. The habiliments of mourning were displayed from every home where thoughtful and grateful people dwell. Messages of sympathy, condolence, and sorrow came from across the continent.

Few public men were better loved when living, or more deeply mourned when dead. Great as he was in life, he is surpassing great in death. Time will not allow, upon an occasion like this, for one to speak of but a few of the marked characteristics of this great and good man, characteristics and attributes which made him the great exemplar

to those who come after him—the great national figure he was.

He was faithful to truth as he saw it, to duty as he understood it, to constitutional liberty as he conceived it. A man is great only in comparison with his fellow-men. Measured by this standard Senator HOAR holds high station among the first men of his age. He exemplified his greatness in his devotion and service to the paramount ideals of his manhood; he was constant and devoted in his integrity to the principles he professed.

He loved liberty with an intensity shared by few. This seemed to be his controlling passion through a long and honored life. It compelled him to defend the right of asylum for the Chinese upon our soil. He was always solicitous for the welfare of our Indian wards. He was the constant champion of the cause of the colored race; their sure friend in the time of their extremity. His love of liberty for all people fitted to secure and enjoy it led him to espouse the cause of the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands. He repelled the suggestion of their being held subjects of an independent republic. With his ideas of the eternal fitness of things, he could not conceive how a people loving liberty, and securing it through blood, carnage, and war, should deny liberty to others seeking and demanding it. He had no sympathy with the popular acclaim of empire and expansion when these were to be secured at the cost of liberty. He could not conceive how, upon any principle of justice or righteousness, the liberty and independence of a people could be bartered away for sordid commercial exploitation.

When his party denied liberty to their fellow-men and strayed from the path of justice and righteousness and abandoned the high ideals for which he believed his party should

stand, he broke away from his fellow-leaders in his party and threw himself into the breach, battling valiantly and ably for the rights and liberties of the Philippine people. It must have been a great trial and disappointment for him, the long-trusted leader of his party, to part company with his associates of a lifetime, his friends, and his Administration. But he heard the call to duty and the cry of the oppressed, the entreaties and prayers of a people seeking liberty. He could not turn a deaf ear to their supplications. His history and the history of his beloved country were behind him. He never had faltered under like conditions; he could not now. There was no doubt or uncertainty clouding his vision. He needed no time for reflection or decision. His course of action was as clear to him as the noonday sun. He never did and could not now compromise with dishonor and injustice. And when the future historian, removed from the strife, the clamor, and the prejudice of the present, impartially writes the history of this period, it will be made to appear that the position taken upon the Philippine question by Senator HOAR was the just, patriotic, and correct one, and the honor his name will then secure will more than compensate for the great sacrifices he made, for all he suffered and endured for conscience sake; and it should never be forgotten that in his course on the Philippine question he followed not only the dictates of his conscience and his mature and wise judgment, but he departed not from the path that Phillips, Sumner, and Lincoln trod.

In the great debates which attended the Administration policy toward the Philippines, which policy Senator HOAR constantly criticised and denounced, there was no more potent factor, no more popular acclaim, than was found in the sentiment contained in the phrase, "Who will haul down

the flag?'' I have yet to learn of a clearer or more correct exposition and complete answer to that inquiry than is contained in the language of Senator HOAR in his great speech on April 17, 1900, when he said:

> Certainly the flag should never be lowered from any moral field over which it has once waved. To follow the flag is to follow the principles of freedom and humanity for which it stands. To claim that we must follow it when it stands for injustice or oppression is like claiming that we must take the nostrums of the quack doctor who stamps it on his wares, or follow every scheme of wickedness or fraud, if only the flag be put at the head of the prospectus.

No one loved the flag and what it stands for more than did Senator HOAR, and few men have stated more correctly when and where it should be supported and defended than did he in the language above quoted.

Senator HOAR was not permitted to live long enough to see his great efforts, the greatest of his later life, in behalf of the Philippine people crowned with success and the results and accomplishments they so richly deserved, nor to witness what the outcome and lasting effect of the policy of his party, which he opposed, toward the Philippines is really to be.

> To his loved land he gave, without a stain,
> Courage and faith, vain faith, and courage vain.
> He, subtile, strong, and stubborn, gave his life
> To a lost cause, and knew the gift was vain.
>
> Later shall rise a people sane and great,
> Forged in strong fires, by equal war made one,
> Telling old battles over without hate,
> Noble, his name shall pass from sire to son.

Senator HOAR died, as he lived, in the firm conviction that the policy he advocated toward the Philippines was the correct and true policy, and that the policy which the Administration of his own party had adopted would in the end prove dangerous and subversive to the best interests and good name of the American people.

He felt that the die was cast and that nothing but the sobering influences of time and effect could eradicate the error and right the wrong; and in the closing sentences of his great speech of April 17 he accepts the inevitable, recanting nothing and reaffirming all that he had said and done in the cause of liberty, humanity, and righteousness. These are his last parting words to his associates and the American people on this subject:

> I know how feeble is a single voice amid this din and tempest, this delirium of empire. It may be that the battle for this day is lost, but I have an assured faith in the future. I have an assured faith in justice and the love of liberty of the American people. The stars in their courses fight for freedom. The Ruler of the heavens is on that side. If the battle to-day go against it, I appeal to another day, not distant and sure to come. I appeal from the clapping of hands and the stamping of feet and the brawling and shouting to the quiet chamber where the fathers gathered in Philadelphia. I appeal from the empire to the Republic. I appeal from the millionaire and the boss and the wire-puller and the manager to the statesman of the elder time, in whose eyes a guinea never glistened, who lived and died poor, and who left to his children and his countrymen a good name, far better than riches. I appeal from the present, bloated with material prosperity, drunk with the lust of empire, to another and a better age. I appeal from the present to the future and to the past.

Senator HOAR had the courage of his convictions in a pre-eminent degree. I know of no man in modern times who excelled him in courage to declare his convictions in civil and political matters and to accept the consequences. He seemed to be perfectly oblivious to the injurious effect any declaration of his might have upon himself, politically or otherwise. When others, through discretion or temerity, halted, he boldly stepped to the front and led the charge, regardless of how the result of the contest might affect himself. One noted example of this is found in his argument before the Senate in the Belknap impeachment trial, and I reproduce it here as characteristic of him during his whole political career. I believe that

few men just entering, as he was, upon their political careers would have had the courage, had they been possessed of the information and occupying the position he did, to arraign his party associates and men in official positions as he did upon that occasion.

Hear his masterly denunciation of corruption in high places and bribery in office:

> My own public life has been a very brief and insignificant one, extending a little beyond the duration of a single term of Senatorial office; but in that brief period I have seen five judges of a high court of the United States driven from office by threats of impeachment for maladministration. I have heard the taunt from the friendliest lips that when the United States presented herself in the East to take part with the civilized world in generous competition in the arts of life the only product of her institutions in which she surpassed all others beyond question was her corruption. I have seen, in the State of the Union foremost in power and wealth, four judges of her courts impeached for corruption and the political administration of her chief city become a disgrace and a byword throughout the world. I have seen the chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs in the House, now a distinguished member of this court, rise in his place and demand the expulsion of four of his associates for making sale of their official privilege of selecting the youths to be educated at our great military school. When the greatest railroad in the world, binding together the continent and uniting two great seas which wash our shores, was finished, I have seen our national triumph and exultation turned to bitterness and shame by the unanimous reports of three committees of Congress—two of the House and one here—that every step of that mighty enterprise was taken in fraud. I have heard in highest places the shameless doctrine avowed by men grown old in public office that the true way by which power should be gained in the Republic is to bribe the people with the offices created for their service, and the true end for which it should be used when gained is the promotion of selfish ambition and the gratification of personal revenge. I have heard that suspicion haunts the footsteps of the trusted companions of the President.

Address of Mr. Sullivan, of Massachusetts

Mr. Speaker: The eulogies of George Frisbie Hoar contain such an able and exhaustive discussion of his life and his services to our country that additional addresses must seem like supererogation.

I rise simply in appreciation of the value of his work, not only to the country, but to our public men. For his life is full of lessons, which if pondered will surely raise the ideals of our public officials.

He died, after a life of nearly fourscore years, full of honors, but with little of this world's riches. Public service of nearly half a century had left him a comparatively poor man. But he carried to his grave—and it will last while men have memory—that which is better than riches, the undying love of the people of the United States for his lifelong battle against every form of corruption that threatened the purity of our public service and the permanence of our institutions. It is pleasant indeed to see that though in his lifetime, when moved by righteous indignation, he dealt powerful blows to that system which was subversive of human liberty, to-day the voice of the South is raised to pay tribute to the great man whom once they did not understand, but whom they learned to love.

He was a constant foe to every form of race hatred and religious intolerence. An American of Americans himself, he refused to stand with those who would shut the nation's doors against the poor and the oppressed of the world, for his broad mind would not permit him to regard one set of God's creatures as so inferior to ourselves that we should deny them

the opportunity to breathe with us His air and enjoy with us His sunshine.

Though a Protestant whose faith was strong and uncompromising, he saw the seas of Know-Nothingism and A. P. A.-ism sweep over our country, carrying with them a flood of bitter animosities, hateful discriminations, and foul wrongs, and he manfully withstood the current, buffeting its waves with the same vigor with which he would have repelled an attack upon the religion of his fathers. He lived to see the men whom he defended against the first of these proscriptive movements march with those of his own race and faith to battle for the preservation of the Union when its integrity was menaced. He saw them settle down to the pursuits of peace, saw them helping in every field of industry to build up the country's greatness, saw them educate their children to love the flag their fathers had fought to defend, and saw them again attacked by a new set of religious bigots marshaled under the old banner of hate, though under a new name. Then again, aided by the prestige of long and faithful service to his country, he struck down with a single blow the enemies of fraternal love and religious freedom, and the hearts of millions swelled with gratefulness, while a prayer to God to bless GEORGE FRISBIE HOAR rose to every Catholic's lips.

Through all the stormy conflicts between religion and science, during which many of the brightest minds were attracted by the philosophy of atheism and agnosticism, he preserved in its integrity his religious faith even to the end of life. Would that his example might lend inspiration to the wavering to cling to their faith in a Supreme Being through all the vicissitudes of existence!

That love of liberty and equality which made him one of the great forces that ultimately freed the slave could not fail

to compel him to raise his voice against the stifling of the aspirations for freedom of the people of the Philippine Islands. Stronger than all constitutional questions that were urged, mightier than all economic objections which were raised, was his hatred of a system that was built upon the theory of the inequality of men. He had witnessed the cause of human liberty triumph often in foreign lands over the forces of despotism, he had witnessed the shackles fall from millions in his own land, and having an abiding faith in the justness of his countrymen, he could not be brought to believe that they would sanction the government of an alien people against their will until the tyranny, as it seemed to him, was actually accomplished. His passionate appeal to his party to let these people govern themselves in their own way was but the voice of his ancestry that had defied the might of kings when it usurped the rights of men.

And now this man has passed out of our vision, but not out of our memory. He will be remembered as a great man, but, what is better, he will be loved as a good man. When the deeds of men the glitter of whose lives was as the cold brilliancy of the diamond are forgotten, the life of GEORGE FRISBIE HOAR will be recalled as one that shone like the blood-red ruby, combining the warmth of a grand soul with the effulgence of a great mind.

Address of Mr. Greene, of Massachusetts

Mr. Speaker: I accept the duty which devolves upon me as representing in part the great Commonwealth of Massachusetts in paying tribute to the memory of the late Senator George Frisbie Hoar, realizing my inability adequately to express the just appreciation with which the constituents I have the honor especially to represent held this most marvelous and distinguished man during his long and eminently successful life.

The city in which I have lived from my youth—the city of Fall River—is one of the most cosmopolitan cities in the country, having within its limits possibly every nationality on the face of the earth, more than 80 per cent of its population being of foreign birth or being by direct descent from those born on foreign soil. His tender sympathy with the oppressed and the downtrodden, his courage and fortitude in defending freedom of thought and freedom of action in both religious and secular affairs, found a ready response among a people who had emigrated from other lands to seek an asylum where the rights of men would be respected and the privileges of religious freedom would be guaranteed.

To them Senator Hoar represented the highest type of American citizenship, and the people of that community rejoiced whenever he came among them. They read with satisfaction his vigorous criticisms of those who tried to confine him within the narrow limits of religious prejudice in determining the worth or qualification for public service of his fellow-men.

My earliest recollections of him began with the agitation for the destruction of the great curse of human slavery. The arrest of Anthony Burns and his return by the Commonwealth in obedience to law as an escaped fugitive slave awakened the conscience and determination of the people of Massachusetts to prevent future repetitions of this appalling and unwelcome exhibition of holding human beings in perpetual bondage.

Senator HOAR never faltered in his belief that slavery was wrong, and, regardless of political associations which had endeared him to his friends and made him prominent in the political councils of the Whig party, he forsook them all and became one of the most prominent leaders in the Free Soil party, a party which had for its avowed purpose the destruction of human slavery as a blot and curse long endured by a people who had endeavored to found a nation devoted to the principles of human freedom and the maintenance of equality and human rights.

The revelations of history of the last half century demonstrate beyond dispute that had his preeminent abilities been devoted to the pursuit of wealth or of distinction in the line of his chosen profession he would have ranked among the greatest of his time and generation, and have been showered with abundant remuneration as a reward for the service which his natural abilities, retentive memory, and legal training would have enabled him to render to the individuals and corporations who would have been gratified to have commanded his services.

He turned from the great opportunities which were within his grasp and yielded to the demand of his countrymen that he should engage in the conflicts and accept the sacrifices which a public career exacts from a faithful public servant.

He tried to retire from the public service and take up the duties of his chosen profession, for he was a lover of books and an earnest student of literature. The harder problems involved in legal procedure only awakened within him greater zeal and determination successfully to solve them, thereby achieving the distinction and rewards which a successful and honored legal career would certainly have afforded him.

But as he retired from one degree of the public service he was called to other and higher distinctions.

My personal acquaintance with Mr. HOAR began in the year 1876. That year, as chairman of the Republican city committee of Fall River, I received him as the opening speaker of that eventful political campaign. The gentleman who presided on that occasion was the Hon. Robert T. Davis, who still survives, one of my predecessors in the House of Representatives and one of the pioneers of the antislavery movement and a lifelong friend and active coworker with Senator HOAR, although three years his senior. They were both members of the constitutional convention of Massachusetts. I seldom met the Senator in after life that he did not refer to their association and friendship and their companionship in Congress. In his address in my home city I was charmed by the eloquence and logic of Mr. HOAR, and ever afterwards followed his public career with keener appreciation and interest.

The result of the election of 1876 was a matter of doubt for many months, and there was finally evolved a scheme of settlement which resulted in the establishment of an Electoral Commission, which by act of the Congress was empowered to determine all questions of controversy arising from said election. Senator HOAR was appointed by the Speaker of the House a member of the Electoral Commission, and

contributed by his ability and conservatism to the peaceful and orderly determination of what seemed to many anxious and patriotic citizens one of the most alarming periods of the nation's history.

It is not necessary that I should recount his eminent service in this body. Let the student of history examine the record of his acts, his eminent wisdom, and his expressions upon many of the important questions which demanded solution in that period of the nation's life so closely following the civil war, and he will find abundant evidence of his marked ability and industry.

In the year 1880 I was selected an alternate delegate to the Republican national convention which resulted in the nomination of President Garfield. I was granted the privilege of meeting with the Massachusetts delegation in all its deliberations. Senator HOAR was chairman of the State delegation, and also was chosen temporary chairman of the convention. In all the stormy conflicts which the contests between the great leaders of the party seeking for supremacy aroused, Senator HOAR remained calm and undisturbed. The late James A. Garfield, the nominee of the convention, then United States Senator, and late Senators Roscoe Conkling and John A. Logan, and ex-Senator William E. Chandler, and the present Senators William P. Frye, Eugene Hale, Chauncey M. Depew, Julius C. Burrows, William B. Allison, Shelby M. Cullom, and Henry Cabot Lodge, and Chester A. Arthur, the nominee of the convention for Vice-President, and others prominent in party councils, were participants in the work of that convention. Between the friends of the two principal candidates, General Grant and Senator Blaine, there was a great struggle to secure the permanent chairmanship of the convention, and finally the differences were adjusted by the unanimous request

that Senator HOAR should occupy the position, and he became the permanent presiding officer. His work, though extremely difficult, met the approval of the entire assemblage.

At the meetings of the State delegation his counsel and direction were of the highest order. He was so highly regarded as a safe and judicious leader by the Republican party as a whole throughout the State that he was always a prominent figure in their campaigns, and he presided at the State conventions in 1871, 1877, 1882, and 1885, and was a delegate at large to the national conventions of 1876, 1880, 1884, and 1888.

His greatest field of activity, however, was in the United States Senate. He was a member of that distinguished body for more than twenty-seven years. The tributes of his associates are the greatest that could possibly be awarded a human being. Estimated in comparison with the reward and triumphs of a private career, the latter would not be entitled to consideration. Senators intimately associated with him in his political career, and in sympathy with his extremest partisan political opinions, could not speak of him more kindly and generously than did those who had been his most bitter political enemies. These tributes of Senators from all parts of the Union show how completely his public career had become interwoven into the entire fabric of the nation's life. He became known to the aspiring youth, and his history seemed familiar to the hoary pilgrim traveling along life's pathway.

Future generations will ponder over his career, and be better able to solve the problems with which they may be confronted by contemplating the struggles through which he passed and recognizing the great accomplishments which his industry and fidelity had been the means of achieving toward the upbuilding and perpetuating of the life of the nation.

In the intimacy of private conversation and association the extent of his knowledge of the country's progress and development and his familiarity with the work of the earlier figures in national history were made both apparent and interesting. I especially remember on one occasion, when journeying with him from Washington toward his home, he referred to the marked change in the requirements of communities from the public servants at that time over the requisites during his student life at Harvard College. He said that the late Rufus Choate was announced to deliver a political address in Roxbury, a suburb of Boston, and he, with a number of his fellow-students, attended the meeting. Mr. Choate had a carefully prepared address which he had committed to memory and delivered it to the entire satisfaction of his auditors.

A few nights afterwards Mr. Choate was announced to speak in South Boston, and, with his fellow-students, Mr. HOAR attended the meeting, and the same identical speech was delivered. Several of the students laughed rather immoderately.

Again, a few nights later, Mr. Choate was announced to speak in Cambridge, and Mr. HOAR, with his fellow-students, were again among his auditors, and they were regaled again with precisely the same address. Mr. HOAR said that some of the students rudely "guffawed."

At that time, he said, there were no shorthand reporters, nor was it customary to publish reports of speeches, the usual method being to publish an item stating that the Hon. Rufus Choate had addressed an interested audience upon the issues of the day, while at the present day it is customary for newspapers in many instances to publish remarks of public speakers in full, making it incumbent upon them to make extended research and provide very largely new and original matter for

each public address. This, he said, became an exaction which taxed the abilities of public servants of the present day to an extent which possibly the individual citizen hardly realized.

Senator HOAR was one of the early founders of the Republican party. His wisdom was displayed very largely in framing the national and State platforms in critical periods of the nation's history.

It was my good fortune frequently to serve with him upon the committee on resolutions at State conventions. The ability displayed by him in rapidly characterizing in vigorous and terse language the consensus of opinion of the assembled committee was marvelous to contemplate. He seemed to have the proper expression to compass the desired result always at his command. The Republicans of Massachusetts always felt that they owed him a debt of gratitude which they never could repay except by awarding to him their highest honor, and there was no division of sentiment in renewing his commission as United States Senator, and his greatest honor was that the party and the people called him to its service in that distinguished body for the longest period ever granted to any one of its citizens during the life of the Commonwealth.

Having been called upon at the time of his decease for a brief expression regarding his life and service, I used the following language, which I quote in closing the limited address which this occasion has called forth:

By the death of Senator HOAR the Commonwealth of Massachusetts and the nation have been sadly bereaved. Possibly no man in public life touched the hearts and lives of the people of the entire country so intimately as he.

His great works and public acts are interwoven into the nation's history for more than the last half century, and his remarkable record of public service will become an inspiration to the youths of to-day and to future generations, awakening them to higher and holier conceptions of their duties to their country and to their fellow-men.

Others have eulogized him with words of power and eloquence, but words fail adequately to express the sorrow and affliction which the State and the nation suffer in the removal of this great man from the activities of social and political life. The world has been enriched and humanity has been ennobled because he lived and wrought among us.

He was a politician in the highest sense, fearless and independent; keen and sharp in his criticisms, but kind in every act and thought. He sacrificed his life and abilities for the public good, thereby exemplifying the highest type of enlightened Christian citizenship. His words and accomplishments will be preserved and regarded by his fellow-countrymen as among the brightest and noblest pages of our country's history during the last half century.

It was my privilege to meet him frequently during the sessions of Congress. His companionship seemed almost a benediction. He was always cheerful and interesting, with a remarkable memory of events and of many of the best historical and literary productions.

I was assigned as a member of the committee from this body to attend his funeral at the city of Worcester, where he resided at the time of his decease. Business was entirely suspended, and as far as possible the entire populace viewed his remains while lying in state at the city hall.

The following day his body was deposited in the burial ground of his birthplace, in the historic town of Concord, Mass., there to remain among those of his ancestors who were the earlier settlers of the Commonwealth and participants in the preliminary struggle of the Revolutionary war at Concord Bridge.

I gladly add my tribute to the memory of the distinguished scholar, statesman, and patriot, the late Senator HOAR.

Address of Mr. Tirrell, of Massachusetts

Mr. Speaker: George Frisbie Hoar was born at Concord, Mass., August 29, 1826. He died September 30, 1904. He sleeps in his native town again — that sleep that knows no waking until the firmament shall be rolled together like a scroll. As this town is in the district I have the honor to represent, it is both a duty and a pleasure to pay a tribute to his memory. Environment had much to do with molding his character. His courage, his persistency, his ambition, his patriotism drew their inspiration from the hills, the valleys, the men, and the history of his native town.

Hereditary greatness descended to him to a remarkable degree through many generations. His family is one of the few exceptions—so few you can almost count them upon your fingers—of inherited genius. His genealogy is a history of leaders from the early colonial days. They fled from England when the tyranny of the Stuarts rendered impossible the free exercise of religious and political belief. They are conspicuous in the just administration of law for the Indian as well as for the white inhabitant. They were of the immortal band who fought at Concord and Lexington. They were numbered among those who formulated the Constitution. They defended the negro when ostracism and obloquy were the reward. They severed party connections and cooperated in the organization of a new party allegiance when conscience no longer permitted their adherence to the dominant political creeds. They have been conspicuous within our memory for their virile intellects, their ripe learning, and their widespread political influence

throughout the country. All this is well known, but the subtle influence which made the character of Senator HOAR, even in his early days, from the air he breathed, the fields he roamed, and the men and the institutions they had created, through two hundred years of strenuous effort, has been but slightly touched upon. To that I call attention now.

Concord was among the first settlements of the Massachusetts Province. Agriculture was the industry of the people. The broad meadows and uplands by the Concord River attracted the emigrant. It was a frontier town. It was settled by Puritans. A theocratic community was organized. The church was the state. The Bible was the rule of faith and action. The minister was the leader of the flock. But while his superior education and godly character made him as one apart, his people followed him only so far as their own interpretation of the Scriptures convinced their conscience that he properly interpreted the Inspired Word. It is true, dissenters found no countenance among them. A deviation from established dogmas banished them from the colony. They saw no other way of worshiping God in peace. Now, strange as it may appear, this independence of interpretation of Sacred Writ, and the injunction upon all to study it and follow it according to their conscience, led to a curious result. To this result the Hoar family contributed as active participants in colonial and religious affairs. It explains the anomaly of GEORGE FRISBIE HOAR as a type of what might be denominated a modernized Puritan of the nineteenth century. He was their eulogist, as appears in many a masterly address. He had the characteristics himself of those worthies whom he extolled. At the same time he was the antithesis of the Puritan in his tastes, his religious affiliation, and his broad, unsectarian views. This apparent contradiction is inexplicable until the development of the New

England town is studied and the threads of its religious life are gathered together.

Take a tour through the old colonial towns near Concord. In all of them, in some central location, generally by the town common which in those days surrounded the church, a white spire ornamenting the most conspicuous church of the village, some of them illustrative of the best architecture of a hundred years ago, will meet your view. It is the church, the old church of the town. It is of the Unitarian faith which he espoused. It is the revolt of the independent, God-fearing, truth-seeking Puritan, who in the progress of generations worked his way through narrowness and bigotry to a broad conception of the relations between God and man, so that in the Puritan district of Massachusetts to-day there is a more liberal, independent, and conscientious religious opinion than in almost any other section of the country. The Puritan reaction swung far, farther than some of us can follow, but it evolved a manhood which in philosophy, statesmanship, and literature has not had its equal in the history of the American nation. Senator HOAR was a type of the best product of that evolution.

We know through his autobiography it was not his intention to enter public life. His brief service in the Massachusetts house of representatives and senate was not specially attractive to him. His success at the bar was so quickly and easily won that he expected and was satisfied with its honors and emoluments. It absorbed his time and attention. It was only great occasions, then, which brought him into public notice. The analytical cast of his mind, his logical powers, his command of precedent, his grasp of principles, and his ability to marshal facts made him a formidable antagonist in the great causes in which he was engaged. It was not through his seeking that at 43 years of age he again entered political life. For eight

years he represented his district in Congress; for twenty-seven years thereafter he was in the Senate of the United States. Thus for thirty-five consecutive years, and until his death, he was in the public service.

I can think of no better illustration of the basis of his political action throughout this period than by a remark he uttered at a centennial address to which I listened a few years ago. He traced the history of the old town from its early settlement, bringing, as was his wont, the worthies of the early days before us. He told us what they had done to fashion and upbuild the nation, and emphasized the underlying thought of his discourse that their record showed and history proved that righteousness alone could save the nation. Temporary expedients would fail. Policy would be ineffective. Injustice would defeat its own ends. Equal rights, equal laws, equal privileges, for rich and poor, high and low—these were the prerogatives of all.

How he illustrated this in his long career! He never truckled to public opinion. He was the most independent partisan of our generation. He was at times at variance with his party on vital issues, yet held unshaken its loyalty and support. He was unanimously reelected when he dissented from the almost unanimous attitude of his party on a party issue. The position was unique and puzzling if you did not know the man. It was because he was honest, fearless, conscientious, and righteous in his motives and actions. It was because we knew he could not be otherwise and just to himself. It was because his life, as an open book, was before us, and we believed that the tortures of the Inquisition, aye, the martyr's fate, could not turn that righteous soul. So he won our respect, admiration, and love in his public career as one removed from the limitations of the

politician, and from whom it was not necessary to seek an explanation.

Of course, these were but incidents in a long and illustrious career. Even he could not have retained party support unless he essentially represented his party's principles. He was an ardent advocate and supporter of Republican tenets, and in great crises in his party's history one of its most prominent defenders. I remember once at a State convention in Massachusetts he was called upon unexpectedly to address the delegates. For half an hour he held them enthralled as he rehearsed his party's history. It was the most remarkable exhibition of extemporaneous eloquence I ever listened to, not even Phillips or Burlingame or Andrew or Sumner, as I have heard them, equaling that effort.

He had a felicitous choice of words, a loftiness of thought, an aptness of quotation, a grasp of historical detail, a familiarity with the best literature, and a knowledge of the great men and deeds of all ages, so that his address, while ornate at times, was so elevating in character, so choice in expression, so abounding in illustration drawn from an unerring memory, that to hear him at his best was part of a liberal education. He had a memory that never failed him in oration or debate. In the campaign of 1900 he opened the canvass in his native town. I sat upon the platform by his side. He held a huge pile of manuscript in his hand containing a speech it was his purpose to deliver. He told me it was his custon to write out and read his first address and afterwards to speak extemporaneously. I remarked that I enjoyed his extemporaneous addresses best. Whether it was my remark or not I can not say, but when it came his turn he placed the manuscript upon the desk and for an hour and a half, without turning a leaf or referring to the manuscript, addressed the audience.

The next morning the manuscript copy appeared in the daily papers, and in sequence, thought, argument, reference, and words it appeared to be identical with the one delivered. It seemed to me at the time an astonishing feat of memory. His scholarship, memory, industry, and natural gifts made him a leader in great events in his public career.

He was one of the managers in the impeachment case of 1876. He was one of the Electoral Commission of 1877. He was a constructive statesman, as the tenure-of-office act, the Presidential-succession law, the bankruptcy law, and the anti-trust enactments attest. He was an indefatigable worker. One watching him in the Senate might think him idly passing away the hour. He was watching and listening. He seemed indifferent to what was going on. But let an error in argument be made or a misstatement of fact asserted, or, to him, false conclusions drawn in the course of that debate, and instantly his voice would ring throughout the Chamber. Some might say there was a brusqueness in his manner. His voice was not melodious and honeyed words were not natural to him. He was too sincere to touch even the hem of a hypocrite's garment. He said what he meant, though not intentionally would he wound a friend. He wanted friendship and sympathy, but not if thereby there was to be a sacrifice of principle. If he believed a man to be a demagogue or dishonest he was unrelenting in his opposition and vitriolic in his wrath. He did not want his friendship. He courted his opposition. But for all others was the outstretched hand and kindly heart. He had the sympathy of a great man, ready to aid, when practicable, in trivial as well as important matters.

When the light of such a name goes out the shadows for a while appear to gather. But not for long, for his work remaineth in imperishable record in the history of his State

and country. He rests in Sleepy Hollow Cemetery, in Concord. Near him is the grave of Emerson, the first of American philosophers, the seer of the idealism of American youth. There is also Thoreau, whose spirit yet seems haunting the hills and valleys of Sleepy Hollow or along the shores of Lake Waldon, not far away. There also is Alcott, the American teacher, and his family, so widely known. There also, only a few feet away, lies the greatest of American romancers, who in the little room at the old Salem custom-house penned the Scarlet Letter, whose conclusion is indeed the life lesson of him of whom we speak, wherein Hawthorne says that he has failed in his purpose unless he has shown in this work he had created that in living and dying we must Be True, Be True.

Address of Mr. Clark, of Missouri

Mr. Speaker: That Senator George Frisbie Hoar will hold a high place and fill a large space in the annals of his time goes without saying. Of Revolutionary stock, a descendant of Roger Sherman, he was American to his heart's core, and he devoted his life to the service of the Republic, which rewarded him with her affection, her confidence, and her admiration. His lines were cast in pleasant places and in a history-making epoch. Though sometimes he was viciously assailed, at others he ran the risk of having applied to him the Scriptural injunction, "Woe unto you when all men shall speak well of you," and at last, having almost reached the Psalmist's extreme allotment of fourscore years, he had that—

> Which should accompany old age,
> As honor, love, obedience, troops of friends.

Pleasant as it would be to me to enter into the details of his life, character, and labor, that delightful task must be left to others closer to him and more familiar with those facts which constitute the essentials of biography; but the invitation to speak here and now has suggested to my mind a few thoughts which may or may not be of interest to those who hear and read what is uttered on this occasion.

Job exclaimed: "Oh, that mine adversary had written a book!" From that day to this when a man has taken his pen in hand to write a book it has been assumed that he also took his reputation, if not his life, in his hand; but the fact that what the man of Uz considered an extrahazardous performance is not necessarily fatal to the performer is demonstrated by the

event of the November election, when Col. Theodore Roosevelt, who has written many books, in which he expressed his opinions of persons and things with startling freedom, not to say abandon, was chosen President of this puissant Republic by an overwhelming majority. This seems to signify that the American people admire candid and courageous speaking—even in a book.

However that may be, I rejoice and hail it as a healthy sign of the times that our public men are more and more growing into the habit of writing, in the evening of their lives, books of a more or less reminiscent nature, recording from their standpoint their views of the transactions which they witnessed and part of which they were. What they say in that regard may be taken and accepted as part of the res gestæ.

Cæsar owes as much of his fame to his Commentaries as to his victories. The fruits of his conquests have long since perished. The mighty empire which he founded has crumbled into dust. Happily for mankind, the system of government for which his name has become the synonym is in process of ultimate extinction; but by his Commentaries he has helped to form the minds of the youths of every civilized country under heaven, through twenty centuries of man's most interesting history and most stupendous endeavor. So long as education is valued Cæsar will exercise imperial sway over the human mind, not by the power of his invincible sword, which is rust, but by his cunning with the pen. Fighting was the serious business of his life. The preparation of his Commentaries was merely a mental recreation in his tent at eventide, amid the clatter of camps and the clangor of arms. Had he been catechised as to his deeds on which would be builded the towering fabric of his fame, he most probably would not have enumerated his Commentaries as even the smallest and hum-

blest of them, but they constitute his clearest, strongest, and most enduring title to the favorable consideration of mankind.

Napoleon, the most astounding son of Mars, with clearer vision and a wiser judgment as to the relative value of human achievements, proudly declared that he would descend to posterity with his Code in his hand, a prophecy which has been amply verified. The crimson glories of Montenotte, Lodi, Arcola, Marengo, the Pyramids, Austerlitz, Ulm, Jena, and Wagram were dimmed by Leipzig, Waterloo, and the dismal journey to St. Helena; the thrones which he ravished from hostile kings and bestowed upon his brothers, sisters, and stable boys passed again to his royal enemies whom he had despoiled; the imperial crown, bought with so much blood and so much crime for his son, never encircled the brow of that pathetic child of misfortune; but the laws created by the fiat of the Corsican Colossus influence and bless the lives of 75,000,000 people, because they were grounded in justice and in wisdom. His career illustrates and enforces the truth contained in Bulwer-Lytton's famous lines:

> Beneath the rule of men entirely great
> The pen is mightier than the sword.

Others have marched as strenuously and fought as bravely as Xenophon and his ten thousand, only to vanish into oblivion; but he and his band are among the immortals because he wrote the Anabasis, which has delighted and instructed millions of ambitious boys and which will delight and instruct succeeding millions till the earth shall perish with fervent heat.

The triumphal expedition of Gen. Alexander W. Doniphan and his heroic Missourians into the heart of Mexico by way of Santa Fe, traversing a vast wilderness full of hostile savages; subsisting on the enemy's country; winning numer-

ous victories over the very flower of the descendants of the knights of Castile and Aragon; never losing a gun, a flag, a prisoner, or a skirmish, though frequently engaging ten times their own number; never drawing from the Government a dollar, a ration, a piece of clothing, or an ounce of ammunition from the moment they left Fort Leavenworth, Kans., till, ragged, starving, but invincible, they reported to Gen. Zachary Taylor on the red field of Monterey, having added an empire to the Union, is the most astounding martial achievement in the entire history of the human race. In difficulty, in courage, in fortitude, in glory, in results it eclipses utterly the far-famed retreat which Xenophon has embalmed in immortal prose.

Every schoolboy knows by heart the fascinating story of the Greeks; but few remember the more wonderful performance of the Missourians. Mirabile dictu! The glorious name of Doniphan, the conqueror of New Mexico, Arizona, and Chihuahua, does not even appear in some of our most ambitious encyclopedias. The reason is that General Doniphan, of Missouri, did not emulate the laudable example of General Xenophon, of Greece, by writing a history of his own campaign; consequently he and the brave Missourians who followed his all-conquering banner are to dumb forgetfulness a prey. "'Tis true 'tis pity; and pity 'tis 'tis true." While I am not general counsel for the star actors in the world's drama, I make bold to suggest to them that if they desire a square deal in history they would do well to imitate Cæsar and Xenophon and write the histories themselves.

Who cares a straw what Joseph Addison did or did not do as Secretary of State? But who that has a love of learning in his heart would be willing to see the last copy of the Tattler and the Spectator committed to the flames?

John Milton wrought much and successfully in the cause of human liberty, but Paradise Lost is his crowning glory.

Lord Macaulay, the statesman, the lawgiver, the office-holder, would have been forgotten years ago, but so long as our vernacular—the most elastic and virile ever spoken by the children of men—is used the history, the poems, and, above all, the essays of Thomas Babbington Macaulay will inspire the human mind and thrill the human heart.

Every scholar that has lived during three centuries has regretted that Lord Bacon was ever high chancellor of England, an office which he disgraced, and in disgracing which he also disgraced the noble profession of the law; but every scholar—aye, every lover of our kind—in all that long lapse of years has thanked Almighty God that Francis Bacon wrote the Novum Organum and De Augmentis, by which, turning the human mind to utilitarianism, he contributed more to human comfort than was ever contributed by any other of the multitudinous sons of Adam.

The imperial house of Austria has long been a great factor in European affairs. Henry Fielding, the English novelist, was related to it by ties of blood; but Gibbon, the historian of The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, declares that Fielding, by writing Tom Jones, shed more luster upon our race than all the Hapsburgers that ever lived.

Of what interest to us are the achievements of Bulwer père in the rôle of statesman, or of Bulwer fils as governor-general of India? But till the end of time men will read with interest and women with tears Eugene Aram and Lucile.

Thomas Brackett Reed, that masterful man whose memory we all cherish with infinite pride, was one of the great

Speakers of this House, and accomplished a tremendous revolution in parliamentary procedure; but his fame is already a fading tradition. What would not the world give for a book from his trenchant pen expressing his honest opinions as to the men and measures with which he was associated? It would be a fit companion piece for Gulliver and The Letters of Junius.

Senator Chauncey Mitchell Depew ranks high in the Senate; but the best service he could render his kind would be to devote his days and nights to writing a book of reminiscences. Many New Yorkers would make creditable Senators; but no other living man could write a book of such intense and abiding interest as could Senator Depew.

There has been much sneering at "the scholar in politics." That manifestation of bad temper and jealousy is easy and cheap. On a memorable occasion an eminent practical Pennsylvania politician referred to an illustrious citizen of Boston who had been named for a high diplomatic post as "one of them literary fellows," with a profane adjective which the proprieties forbid me to repeat in this distinguished presence on this historic occasion. Nevertheless and notwithstanding, Col. Thomas Hart Benton, of Missouri, by writing his Thirty Years' View did more to make himself a great and indispensable historic figure than he accomplished by his arduous service of six full Roman lustrums in the Senate and two years in the House. As long as government exists on this continent he will be regarded as a standard authority on all matters pertaining to Congressional legislation. By writing his Twenty Years of Congress James Gillespie Blaine made a most valuable contribution to our political literature and achieved for himself a more permanent renown than if the supreme ambition of his heart had been gratified by an election to the Presidency.

Samuel Sullivan Cox, one of the most brilliant of mortals, a Representative in Congress for many years from both Ohio and New York, as well as minister to the Sublime Porte, and the first man that ever delivered a speech in this Hall, may fade from public memory as a statesman, but The Buckeye Abroad, Why We Laugh, and The Three Decades of Federal Legislation will be perused with pleasure by millions yet unborn.

For thirty-odd years, in House and Senate, GEORGE FRISBIE HOAR was one of the most conspicuous legislators and orators of the times in which he lived. No great statute was placed upon the books which he did not have a hand in shaping. No important question arose which he did not discuss; but long after all that he did and said in this Chamber and the other has passed from the minds of men his Autobiography of Seventy Years will challenge the admiration of his countrymen. His noblest mental offspring was the last.

His book has been criticised on two grounds—as being too egotistical and as assigning to New Englanders in general, and Massachusetts men in particular, too high rank. At first blush I deemed both criticisms well taken, but upon mature reflection I concluded that neither is tenable. An autobiography, whether written by a Harvard man or by a Davy Crockett, is in the very nature of things egotistical, for the ego is the very essence of the theme. What might be offensive or preposterous in private conversation or in public speech may be appropriate and even pleasing in autobiographical writing.

When he came to the grateful task of assigning the status of New Englanders and Bay State men he evidently took to heart the precept of St. Paul:

> But if any provide not for his own, and especially for those of his own house, he hath denied the faith, and is worse than an infidel.

Even if it be conceded that he did overpraise the men of New England and Massachusetts—

His failings leaned to virtue's side.

For an undue friendliness to one's kindred and neighbors is greatly preferable to jealousy of them, and bears testimony of a nobler soul.

Indeed, he had much cause to be lavish of panegyric in speaking of the men of Massachusetts. To merely walk the streets of Boston and read the inscriptions on her monuments, her statues, and her buildings is a liberal education in patriotism. Should an inhabitant of another planet, versed in both Latin and English, descend upon that city, without any prior knowledge of our history, he would naturally conclude that Massachusetts, single-handed and alone, originated and achieved the Revolution, created the Republic, and has sustained and governed it from the first. If he should read Massachusetts books, which constitute a great multitude which no man can number, he would be confirmed in this erroneous opinion. No complaint can reasonably be made of Massachusetts or of Senator HOAR for unduly exalting the horn of Massachusetts men. What I do complain of is that the people of the South and West have not pursued the same plan with their own worthies, and have permitted them to be killed off by the inexorable rule of exclusion. Their pioneer statesmen, warriors, orators, and State builders were content to do things, great and glorious things, but were careless of what record was made of their achievements. The incorrigible New England habit of book-making accounts for the fact that her influence in America is large out of all proportion to her area, population, or achievements. Her writers would be destitute of human nature if they were not biased—unconsciously, perhaps, but biased nevertheless—in favor of New England men,

New England women, New England performance, New England scenery, New England opinion, and even of New England climate. Of course the ground already lost by the South and West in this regard can never be recovered; but surely it is high time to go resolutely, systematically, and extensively into the book-making business themselves. This much they owe to their ancesters, to themselves, to their posterity, to history, to truth, and to patriotism.

Thousands of statesmen, orators, soldiers, and lawyers have lived and been forgotten; but it may be safely stated that since Guttenburg invented movable types no man has written a really great book who is not still remembered by intelligent persons.

Macaulay says:

> One of the most remarkable circumstances in the history of Bacon's mind is the order in which its powers expanded themselves. With him the fruit came first and remained to the last. The blossoms did not appear till late. In general, the development of the fancy is to the development of the judgment what the growth of a girl is to the growth of a boy. The fancy attains at an earlier period to the perfection of its beauty, its power, and its fruitfulness, and, as it is first to ripen, it is also first to fade. It has generally lost something of its bloom and freshness before the sterner faculties have reached maturity, and is commonly withered and barren while those faculties still retain all their energy. It rarely happens that the fancy and the judgment grow together. It happens still more rarely that the judgment grows faster than the fancy. This seems, however, to have been the case with Bacon. His boyhood and youth appear to have been singularly sedate. His gigantic scheme of philosophical reform is said by some writers to have been planned before he was 15, and was undoubtedly planned while he was still young. He observed as vigilantly, meditated as deeply, and judged as temperately when he gave his first work to the world as at the close of his long career. But in eloquence, in sweetness, and variety of expression, and in richness of illustration, his later writings are far superior to those of his youth.

These words may be applied almost literally to Senator HOAR. From the day he delivered his great philippic against Mr. Secretary Belknap to the hour of his death he spoke as

frequently perhaps as any other man in public life, and every word that fell from his lips was read with eagerness by the intelligence of America. His style constantly grew richer, more imaginative, and more ornate, until some of his later speeches partook largely of the nature of epic poems. The peculiar order of growth which Macaulay notes in Bacon's mind, and which I have just stated to be true with reference to Senator HOAR'S, is also true, though in a lesser degree, of the intellects of Grover Cleveland, Benjamin Harrison, and William McKinley. The feature in which their minds and styles seem to have changed most markedly in their advanced years was that of humor. Prior to their induction into the Presidential office it would be difficult to discover even a trace of humor in their writings or their speeches; but after quitting the White House both Mr. Cleveland and General Harrison developed a rich vein of humor. On his trip to California President McKinley lightened up his speeches with genial humor, which was a grateful surprise to his countrymen. Even on his deathbed he uttered one delicious mot at the expense of his physicians. I hold it truth that this development of humor in these three illustrious citizens of the Republic was so much clear gain to all our people.

It may possibly be—who knows?—that these men were dowered with the humorous faculty at birth, but the occupations of their lives had been so serious and so pressing that they never had leisure or inclination to indulge its exercise.

It is a matter of congratulation that they did develop that faculty, for I believe in Carlyle's dictum that "Humor has justly been regarded as the finest perfection of poetic genius."

The career of Senator HOAR suggests still another thought — that all the world, including Massachusetts, is

growing more liberal and more tolerant. As a matter of fact, Massachusetts has always been liberal and tolerant above the average in the range of opinion permitted to her public men. Nevertheless, the fact remains that Boston shut the doors of Faneuil Hall in the face of Daniel Webster, the greatest New Englander who ever saw the light of day, the greatest orator who ever spoke the English tongue, and that the legislature of Massachusetts passed resolutions of censure upon Charles Sumner, because they had run counter to the public sentiment of their constituencies. But Senator HOAR'S was a happier fate, for, notwithstanding the fact that he ran counter to her public sentiment more frequently and more violently than either Sumner or the godlike Daniel, Massachusetts reelected him in his extreme old age to a fifth full term in the Senate of the United States. With her increasing generosity the Old Bay State would probably have kept him in the Senate a half century had he lived so long. This wiser liberality was not only an honor to Massachusetts and a gratification to Senator HOAR, but is an added glory to the Republic and to the human race.

Address of Mr. Driscoll, of New York

Mr. Speaker: I came to these memorial exercises to listen to the eulogies on the life and services of Senator Hoar delivered by those who knew him best and respected him most highly, by his friends in the Massachusetts delegation, who admired and loved him. The words uttered have been earnest and beautiful and form an appropriate tribute to the memory of the great departed. It is not possible for me to strengthen or embellish what has been said, yet my admiration for the deceased statesman was so intense that I can not let this occasion pass without adding my humble offering of respect and esteem to the memory of this great American, although I can not fittingly state my high regard for him as a man and my appreciation for his services to the people.

He was indeed a grand and good man. His State and country have suffered a great loss. He personified the highest type of the New England citizen, and therefore of the American citizen. He was a native of Massachusetts and a descendant through many generations of Puritan ancestors. They were a remarkable people—severe, austere, uncharitable, and perhaps bigoted, but they were the result of trying and heroic times and conditions. They feared God and nothing else. They were persecuted in their native land for conscience sake, and bade farewell to their homes and friends, embarked in a frail and unseaworthy craft, braved the dangers of an unexplored ocean, and landed on the frost-bound shores of a hostile wilderness; and they dared all and endured all for their convictions.

They fought their way against an inclement climate and

sterile soil, savage beasts, and more savage men. They felled the forests and erected churches, schools, and colleges, and established a cradle of liberty in which was bred a remarkable galaxy of poets, historians, scholars, orators, philosophers, statesmen, and patriots. Trial and adversity made them strong and self-reliant. They were frugal, industrious, temperate, honest, capable, and enterprising.

Senator HOAR was an offspring of that stock and civilization. He inherited their sterling virtues, and by broad scholarship, the liberal spirit of modern Harvard, extensive travel, and acquaintance with many peoples and customs, and a mind always open and in search of light and truth, he became more mellow, charitable, and lovable than his rigid forefathers. His father was an able lawyer, in easy circumstances, and the son was given the best opportunities for education and culture, which he diligently improved. He graduated from Harvard at 20, commenced the practice of law at 22, and was elected to the Massachusetts house of representatives at 26. From that time on he was almost continuously in public life, in the service of his city, county, State, and nation. He was also a member of and took an active interest in many charitable, literary, and historical associations. He continued the practice of his profession, and by reason of his industry, systematic habits, and remarkable mental equipment he did well everything he undertook.

He was a Republican in politics and firmly believed his party the only one competent to properly conduct the affairs of government; yet because he was an independent thinker he sometimes differed with the majority of his party leaders in the Senate, and expressed his views according to his convictions. However, he never lost the respect and confidence of his colleagues in that body on either side of the Chamber,

for while they could not concur with his views they fully believed in his honesty, sincerity, patriotism, and singleness of purpose. And be it said to the credit of Massachusetts that when last returned to the Senate he was in open opposition to the Administration's Philippine policy, with which the Republican party of his State was in accord.

That was the last great political, intellectual, and moral battle of his eventful career. To him it was essentially a moral question. He took his stand not from selfishness or through a spirit of antagonism. He was too big, too high-minded, too patriotic for that. He believed that the Administration, in the ratification of the Treaty of Paris, was forgetful of the teachings of the fathers; that it was drifting away from the traditions, ideals, and the fundamental principles of the Republic. That treaty followed close on the victory over Spain. Our people were excited. The fire of battle was in their blood. The greed for more land seemed to have taken possession of them. The spirit of expansion and commercialism was dominant. The Senators who approved the treaty doubtless believed they were recording the prevailing sentiments of their several constituencies. They yielded to the temporary clamor and appropriated the Philippines. Not so Senator HOAR. He comprehended the situation. He seemed to see the end from the beginning. He had clear and positive views and the courage to express them.

In that memorable parliamentary debate he stood almost alone on the Republican side of the Chamber, taxing to the utmost the great powers of his brave heart and resourceful brain, striving to convince his colleagues that the ratification of that treaty would prove to be a grave mistake. Conscious that he was right, he yielded not to the taunts of his enemies or the appeals of his friends, like the letter read by Mr. Lovering.

He went down to defeat, but he had the consolation of having stood by his convictions and of having remained true to the traditions of his State and the long line of his illustrious ancestors. The logic of events has established the wisdom of some of his arguments. It is a pity that he could not have lived a few years more, that he might witness the vindication of his views and see the pendulum of public opinion swing back to the position of unselfish patriotism and true Americanism on which he then stood.

He was a constructive statesman, and by his thorough investigation of facts and precedents, his analytical mind and intellectual integrity, he explained and illumined many dry public questions and made them clear and interesting to the ordinary reader. By his practical wisdom, force of character, and earnestness of purpose he impressed his personality on our legislation to a degree seldom equaled. He did not court notoriety, neither did he avoid responsibility in order to escape criticism. He was a man of pure mind, lofty aspirations, and high ideals, and did his duty day by day as he saw it.

Only a short time ago he completed and published an autobiography. It is a work of unusual merit, written in his simple, pure, delightful style. It illustrates his modesty and absence of egotism, for it is a history from personal knowledge of his time rather than of himself and what he did. It is very interesting and instructive, and a source of inspiration to the youth of our country.

He did not close his books at the end of his college course or think of having completed his education, but continued the enjoyment of reading and study during his long, busy life, and retained the buoyancy and freshness of boyhood, and was one of the youngest old men in the country. Neither did his energies seem to abate with advancing years. He died while in

the full tide of his moral and intellectual activity and at the zenith of his great fame and influence. His general scholarship and literary attainments were recognized in educational centers, for honorary degrees were conferred upon him by many of our greatest colleges and universities. He was a favored son of the Old Bay State. From boyhood he was the recipient of many social, literary, and political distinctions, which he bore with such simplicity and grace that the people delighted to honor him. He was a grand old man, respected, beloved, revered by all, and to-day Massachusetts mourns the loss of her first citizen.

In Washington he lived in a plain, temperate, economical manner. His influence was derived not from grand dinners and social functions, but from work and worth. His power was great, and grew with his years of service. His opportunities for gain were many were he pecuniarily inclined, yet it is said he died a comparatively poor man. This needs no commentary in these times. It speaks for itself.

In the United States Senate, a body composed largely of millionaires, many of whom entered through the financial doorway, Senator HOAR stood almost alone. He was not the representative of any trust, combine, or special interest; neither was he engaged in the advancement of his own schemes, using his office as a means to an end. He was a plain, straightforward, unassuming gentleman, a profound thinker, an able orator, a fearless advocate of what he believed to be the best, an accomplished statesman, an incorruptible patriot, and an ideal Senator of the American Congress. In his death his State has lost her most worthy and distinguished son and the Republic her most able and accomplished legislator, for, take him all in all, he was the foremost character in our public life.

Address of Mr. Powers, of Massachusetts

Mr. Speaker: Massachusetts has good reason to be proud of the long line of eminent statesmen which she has given to the legislative service of the nation. The Commonwealth has been fortunate in the existence of political conditions which rendered it possible at all times to select for Congressional service men of the highest character, ability, and devotion to duty. This has been especially true of her representation in the Senate.

I appreciate how difficult the task of attempting to place a just estimate upon the character and services of a life at its close. The place which Mr. Hoar will take in American history can be far better determined a generation hence than now. Great political policies which he espoused or opposed still remain unsettled. Future events must decide the wisdom and value of the opinions which he so earnestly and ably contended for during the closing years of his life. No one, however, will question but that he was one of the great men of the generation in which he lived. He possessed those qualities of character and temperament which rendered him most attractive to the American people. He was aggressive and fearless, and at the same time tolerant and liberal. He possessed intense convictions, which he was ready to defend in any field of intellectual conflict. He worked out his own standards of character and conduct. He was a humanitarian in the broadest sense of the term. He recognized good in all mankind. He understood and sympathized with the tremendous struggle of the human race to improve its condition, and he was easily moved by sympathetic impulses.

My acquaintance with Mr. HOAR began in 1875. He was then a Representative in Congress from the Worcester district, but he was still in active touch with the practice of his profession which he loved so well. He was then 49 years of age. The mellowing influence of years was not then upon him. He was the keen, caustic, aggressive lawyer, the equal if not the superior of any attorney of his years in his own Commonwealth. By inheritance, education, and temperament he was equipped for a great career at the bar. Had he remained out of politics and devoted his life to his chosen profession there can be no doubt he would have achieved great fame as a lawyer and taken a foremost rank at the American bar.

When Mr. HOAR entered Congress he was 43 years of age. He had already acquired from the practice of his profession what may properly be regarded as a competency for most attorneys. He contemplated after a service of one or two terms in Congress to return to private life and continue the practice of law. But, like nearly all Members of Congress, he yielded to the fascinating influence of a public career. He felt the broadening influence of his surroundings. He was in touch with the great Republic, and felt the ceaseless throb of the pulse of a restless and ambitious nation. The ardent patriotism of six generations of American ancestry was in his veins. His law books were closed, but the history of his country was open to him as never before. He reviewed in a new light the great struggle from Plymouth to Yorktown, and from Yorktown to Appomattox, and that other great struggle of legislative conflict beginning with the Declaration of Independence and the Articles of Confederation down to the amendments to the Constitution which worked out the reconstruction of the Republic and rendered its future secure.

The noted success of his Congressional career during his first two terms in the House made him conscious of his capacity and power in this new field of activity, and he decided to yield to the command of his constituency and devote his life to the public service. For thirty-five years—a full generation—he gave the best that was in him to the service of his country. During that long period no important question of legislation was under consideration that did not receive his careful thought and attention. Upon most of them is to be seen the impress of his keen and forceful intellect.

No man of his time had a more comprehensive knowledge of American history. It was a knowledge always at his command. But few men have lived who knew the literature of the world better than he. The habits of the scholar never deserted him. His library to him was peopled with the great spirits of the past. He loved to commune with the best thoughts of all ages. He made a careful study of the English language. His diction was pure and forceful. In the later years of his life he prepared his speeches with the greatest care. He believed, as he had the right to, that they were to live in American history.

In the early years of his life he was an intense partisan. He was a member of the Free Soil party, which was pledged to a great reform. But with advancing years he ceased to be a partisan. He was fond of the political party to which he belonged, but his long experience had taught him that even a political party may not always be right. He looked upon political parties as a means to an end. Above party and party creed was the Republic. Mr. HOAR took exception to several of the policies adopted by the Republican party, and he did not hesitate to criticise and even denounce his

own party, in the belief that it was his duty to do so. He entertained positive views concerning the acquisition and the government of the Philippines. He was opposed to any policy which did not provide the same form of government for all people living under the American flag. The wisdom of his views upon that question can not yet be determined. No man has the right to say that he was not right and the majority of his party wrong. A generation hence that question can be determined with exact justice to all. No one questions the courage, the patriotism, and the devotion to duty of Mr. HOAR. He reached his conclusions after careful study, and was always prepared to defend them.

Within a little more than a half century Massachusetts has been called upon to mourn the loss of three great statesmen—Webster, Sumner, and HOAR. All represented her in the Congress of the nation. Each achieved his greatness in the Senate Chamber. Each in his time was the idol of her people, and with the close of their earthly careers deep sorrow rested upon the old Commonwealth. But no more profound or lasting sorrow ever filled the hearts of the people of my Commonwealth than did the announcement of the death of Mr. HOAR. He was the friend of all the people; he had served all with equal fidelity and devotion. He was a product of Massachusetts by birth, education, and citizenship. Massachusetts gave this son to the Republic. The service which he rendered must hereafter be a part of the history of the nation.

Address of Mr. Keliher, of Massachusetts

Mr. Speaker: The country has suffered the loss of a great son whose useful, brilliant, and exemplary life was, in the main, devoted to the upliftment of his fellow-men and the elevation of the civic standards of his State and nation. Massachusetts mourns the loss of George Frisbie Hoar and the nation shares her sorrow, for both will miss his wise, sound, and patriotic counsel.

In accordance with a time-honored custom, we consecrate these few hours to the memory of the late Senator, in which we may pay our worded tributes to the distinguished dead and briefly summarize a few of the many of his virtues that earned for him the everlasting love, honor, and respect of the American people.

Upon occasions of this kind the eulogist is apt to stray beyond the confines of accurate review and trespass the tempting fields of exaggeration and fulsomeness. With a subject so replete with interesting and historic data as the life of George Frisbie Hoar there is neither necessity nor excuse for leaving the straight paths of impartially chronicled history of the State he so brilliantly represented and the nation he so loyally and conscientiously served.

He was a splendid type of Massachusetts citizenship—sturdy, virile, cultured, liberal, and intensely patriotic. Embodying the finest traditions of the country he so ardently loved, he was a fine example of the old-school American statesman, fast disappearing—more's the pity—to whose rugged honesty, consistent conservatism, and marked ability

the present generation should give thanks for the proud position these United States occupy in the world of nations.

Senator HOAR came of a sturdy stock of ancestors that for generations back contributed liberally to the fame and glory and the material and intellectual wealth of Massachusetts and New England. They were always a public-spirited and patriotic people who were ever conspicuous in agitations and uprisings, moral or physical, that had for their purpose the protesting against an abridgment of the religious freedom of the people or arresting the encroachment of governmental tyrannies.

All these commendable traits GEORGE FRISBIE HOAR inherited and effectively brought into play during his active and influential service to his State and country. His grandfather was one of that immortal band of untrained, undisciplined patriots that faced the British regulars on the memorable April day one hundred and thirty years ago and fired that history-making volley the echo of which will ever sound in the hearts of the American people.

The spirit that rebels against injustice impelled armed resistance by his grandfather at Concord to the further imposition of unjust taxation by the despotic and doltish George. It incited the vigorous, effective, and impressive battle maintained by Senator HOAR till the final call against the adoption by his party of a policy that he so vigorously denounced as unrighteous and un-American.

Like his fathers before him, he eagerly took up the cause of the lowly and oppressed and valiantly prosecuted the fight for liberty of the struggling Filipino, parting upon this great issue with the party he so ardently loved and for which he had so untiringly toiled all his life. A strict constitutionist, he resisted with his profound reasoning, matchless oratory,

and indomitable opposition the adoption of the new and radical doctrine of the Republican party that established a republic in Cuba and by force of might denied one to the Filipino, acquiring sovereignty over the Philippines instead.//

His veneration for the Constitution and unyielding adherence to a strict construction of its provisions weakened his influence in the Senate, but immeasurably increased the affection the people bore him. The attitude of Senator HOAR upon the Philippine question was consistent with every public act of his life.

In the earlier days, when the spirit of race and religious bigotry was rampant, when the movement to proscribe the alien was gaining alarming impetus, GEORGE FRISBIE HOAR stood up, a colossal figure, in opposition. For this Christian stand taken by him and men of his kind a tremendous debt of gratitude is owed by the immigrants of fifty years ago, their children and grandchildren.

The son of an alien myself, I recall with thankfulness my father's frequent and feeling reference to the liberality and broadmindedness of Senator HOAR in those trying times. Like many of his kind, my father sought these friendly shores whose arms were said to be extended in readiness to grasp in friendly embrace those who sought relief from the oppressions and tyrannies of monarchical governments, and whose ambition it was to seize the opportunities in which this country so richly abounded.

Forced from an unfortunate country whose history is one of never-ending wrong, every page of which makes the heart sick with its record of persecution and annihilation, my expatriated father, with hope unlimited, sought refuge in this country, the Mecca of the oppressed of the world. Imagine his surprise and disappointment to soon find an element in the land he

had dreamed of as the garden of liberty shrieking their hatred of the foreign born, and demanding their suppression, deportation, and ofttimes their destruction.

When feeling and prejudice ran high, with no fear of political or social effect, Senator HOAR stood up in opposition, and did much to bring the American people to a realization of the incongruous position they had taken. When again, in my day, this spirit of intolerance and narrowness was revived; when men high in the councils of his party and influential in shaping its policies covertly connived at the unpatriotic work that was going on, or cowardly evaded meeting the reprehensible issue, Senator HOAR came out into the open and denounced it as vehemently as his intense nature would permit. His denunciation stirred the people so thoroughly that the unholy movement soon died, unwept, dishonored, and soon forgotten.

Senator HOAR'S masterly attributes were a blessed inheritance. It is not to be wondered that he was scholarly, for his A B C's were taught him by a mother who inherited rare intellectuality which she instilled and imparted to her son, and in his rudimentary studies he was instructed by an exceptionally talented father.

That he was intensely patriotic was due not only to the influence of heredity, for environment contributed as well. Nursed by a mother whose father, Roger Sherman, was a potent factor in shaping the events that led to the Revolutionary war, and rocked upon the knee of a father whose father stood at Concord Bridge, one of the intrepid few that fired the shot that gave impetus to the war that resulted in the formation of this great nation, he could not be otherwise than patriotic.

As a lad he romped upon highways and byways that were rich in historical traditions, and grew into manhood in an atmosphere of patriotism. He imbibed freely of the profound philosophy from the pure wells that were plentiful within the confines of classic Concord from the time he arrived at the age of understanding. The effect upon young HOAR would lend credence to the theory that—

> Youth, like the softened wax, with ease will take
> The images that first impressions make.

Nature gave bountifully when endowing Senator HOAR. She made him industrious, and he applied that industry to the end that his fellows might benefit from it; she lavished upon him literary attainments, and the result of his efforts in those fields were inspiring and instructive; she made his nature broad and liberal, and that liberality exercised a potent influence in enlarging the scope of civic rights and religious freedom of the harassed and circumscribed; she blessed him with rare powers of statesmanship that were all exerted in enhancing the honor and glory of his country.

Mr. Speaker, Massachusetts has filled the places allotted her in yonder Hall by the nation, where in bronze and marble the several States may perpetuate their favorite sons. Were there another place available the overwhelming sentiment of the people of Massachusetts, without regard to race, religion, or political party, would be voiced in favor of the selection of a statue of him who embodied her ideals of manliness, patriotism, liberality, learning, and statesmanship—GEORGE FRISBIE HOAR.

Mr. LOVERING. Mr. Speaker, there were several other Members who desired to speak, but who have been unable to be present. I therefore ask unanimous consent that permission be given to those who desire to do so to print in the Record.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

Now, in pursuance to the resolution heretofore adopted, the House stands adjourned.

Accordingly (at 2 o'clock and 37 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned.

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